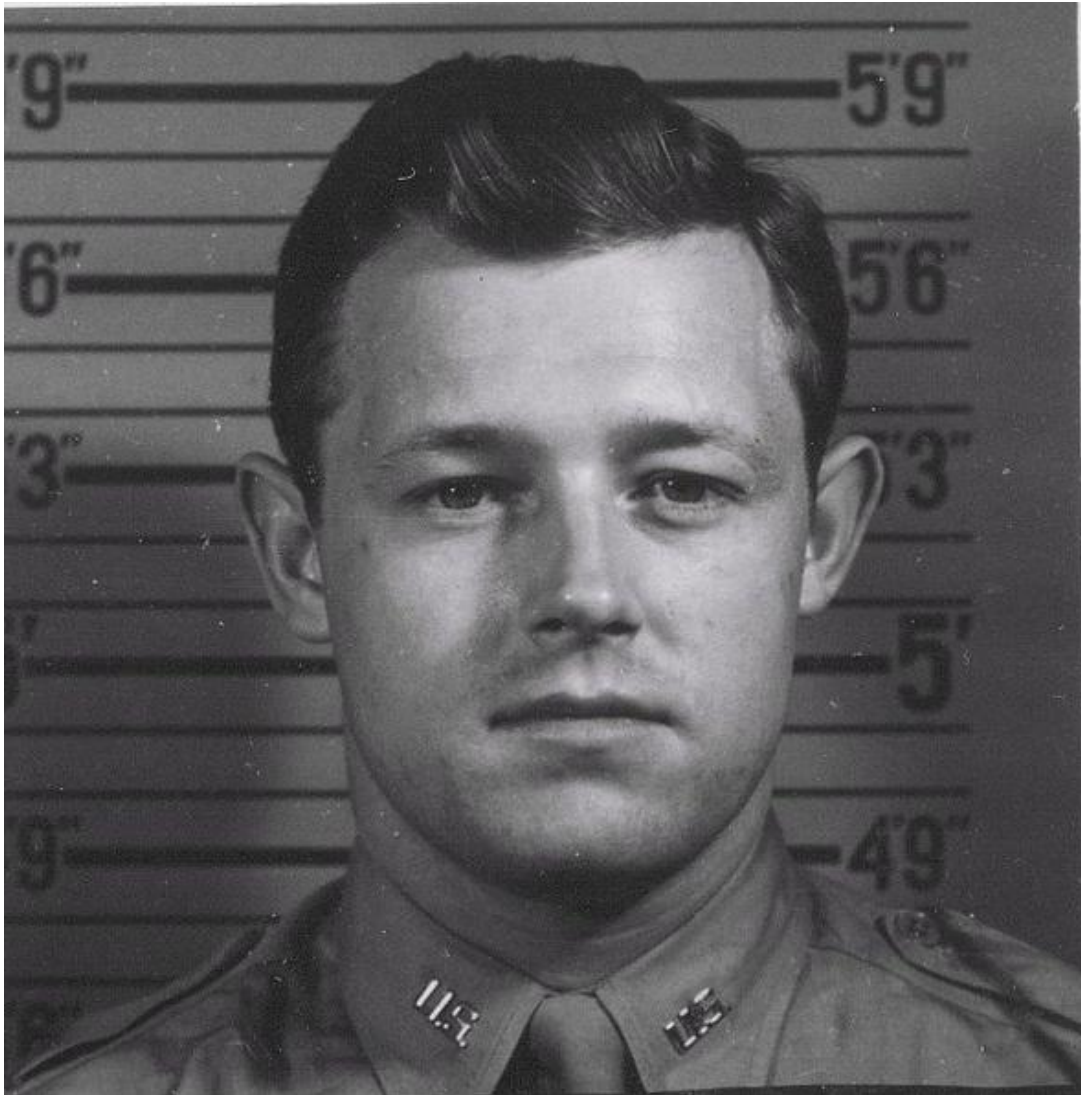


# NODULE X11

## EVERETT HOWARD HUNT



For the most up-to-date version of this Nodule go to  
<http://ajweberman.com/noduleX11.pdf>

E. HOWARD HUNT: OCTOBER 9, 1918 TO 1943



ADDRESSES				ADDRESSES			
Name	11361 SW 3rd St. <i>Ran Gonzalez</i>			Name	<i>MRS. HASTINGS</i>		
Street	<i>Casa - 226 5751</i>			Street			
City	<i>Wash - 834-7315</i>			City			
Phone	<i>866-4967</i>			Phone	<i>642-5996</i>		
Name	<i>Pablo Gomez</i>			Name	<i>HH 347-0355</i>		
Street	<i>1050 SW 99th Pl</i>			Street	<i>WH-202-456-2282</i>		H
City	<i>Miami Fla 33165</i>			City Home:	<i>301-299-7366</i>		I
Phone	<i>223 2447</i>			Phone			J
Name	<i>Isaiah Emery</i>			Name	<i>11120 River Road</i>		K
Street	<i>(635-8641)</i>			Street	<i>Potomac Md. 20854</i>		L
City	<i>620 NW 74th</i>			City	<i>Robert R Mullen 200</i>		M
Phone				Phone	<i>1700 Pennsylvania</i>		N
Name	<i>6 bit Graham</i>			Name	<i>D.C. N.W. Washing</i>		O
Street	<i>4758 W Florida Ave 3</i>			Street	<i>tn D.C 20006</i>		P
City	<i>649-4400</i>			City	<i>293-2746</i>		Q
Phone	<i>443-0484 Cong</i>			Phone			R
Name	<i>Berta 642-5089</i>			Name	<i>Henry Herman</i>		S
Street	<i>Billie's Restaurant</i>			Street	<i>891 1123</i>		T
City				City	<i>861 0130</i>		U
Phone	<i>643-9048</i>			Phone	<i>29D 6-17-72</i>		V

Phone *642-5776*  
 Name *HH 347-0355*  
 Street *WH-202-456-2282*  
 City Home: *301-299-7366*  
 Phone

Watergate burglar Rolando Martinez' personal telephone directory listed HOWARD HUNT. Next to the phone number it noted: "W. House." HUNT'S name was listed under the letters "W. H." in BERNARD BARKER'S address book. HUNT was asked what would lead Mr. BARKER to use the initials W. H? HUNT: "I assume that WH was for White House."

EVERETTE HOWARD HUNT was born on **October 9, 1918**, in Hamburg, N.Y., into a family of English and Welch heritage which traced its lineage to the Revolutionary War. Hunt's Point, in the South Bronx section of New York City, was named after one of HUNT'S ancestors. HUNT'S father, Howard Hunt Sr., was a friend of OSS founder William J. Donovan. When HUNT was eight, his family moved to Miami, where Howard Hunt Sr. entered a business partnership which eventually failed. In *Give Us This Day*, HUNT described the incident which led to this. On a Saturday, Howard Hunt Sr.'s business partner stole \$5,000 from him, then flew to Havana. The next day, Howard Hunt Sr. flew to Havana, found his partner, put a gun to his partner's head, and got all of his money back. The moral to be gained from this story, according to HUNT, was: "An

operation conducted with surgical efficiency and maximum speed leaves minimal scars on those involved." This story can be interpreted so that a different moral is extracted from it: rather than report the incident to the local authorities, Howard Hunt Sr. went to Cuba and was willing to execute his ex-partner for \$5000. The moral implied by this incident: if you are double-crossed, murder is permissible.

During his teens HUNT suffered from dyslexia and stammering. He graduated from Brown University in **1940**, where he majored in English literature and journalism. He received an Associate Baccalaureate Degree. He was accepted as a play writing student at Yale Drama School. HUNT enlisted in the Naval Reserves. HUNT reported: "Enlisted United States Naval Reserve, August 27, 1940, as Apprentice Seaman, appointed to U.S. Navy Midshipman's School...served aboard USS Destroyer Mayo, discharge by reason of being not physically qualified for retention." In February 1941 HUNT entered the United States Navy. He was on active duty for five months before he was given an honorable medical discharge in late 1942.



Tad Szulc reported: "According to incomplete records [HUNT] was injured aboard a ship doing Atlantic convoy duty." HUNT was discharged because of a hearing problem. [FBI 139-4089-1627] HUNT wrote *East of Farewell*, a fictionalized account of North Atlantic convoy duty, and sold it to Alfred Knopf Publishers. From October 1942 to February 1943 he worked for *Time Inc.* (March of Time) where he prepared and edited scripts for a monthly newsreel, and produced Naval training films. He was hired by *Time* and became a war correspondent in the South Pacific from February 1943 to July 1943. HUNT covered the battle of Guadalcanal. HUNT stated: "I flew as an observer with



VT11, Henderson Field, Guadalcanal, 1943, soloed SO3C type, March 1943, New Hebrides." He returned to New York City in 1943, where he worked for *Fortune* magazine and wrote *Limit Of Darkness*, which he sold to Random House.

#### HUNT JOINS THE OSS: DECEMBER 1944



HUNT enlisted as a private in the United States Air Force: "After basic training at Fort Dix and Miami Beach, I qualified for Officer Candidate School...After being commissioned, I was sent to Air Force Intelligence School at Orlando, Florida, where, after two weeks as a student, I was placed on the faculty." While he was in Air Force Intelligence, HUNT passed rigorous OSS testing and investigation: "A few days later General William E. Donovan summoned me to his office. There he confirmed that I had been accepted for duty in the OSS and was henceforth relieved of further Air Force duties." During his OSS training period, HUNT met Navy Lieutenant James Donovan and future CIA officers Lawrence Houston and Walter Kuzmuk. HUNT cited Bennett Cerf of Random House as a credit reference. HUNT named Quentin Reynolds as a reference. HUNT stated: "Graduate of Air Combat Intelligence School, AAFSAT, AFTAC, Florida. Wide experience with intelligence sources and procedures as part of current duties in AFTAC Air Room, plus special research into propaganda analysis (a standard lecture for the Army-Navy Staff College), plus professional writing and experience as naval officer at start of war. As a War correspondent, I found out that my experience as a naval officer helped me effect easy liaison with Task Force and Air Group commanders in the theater. I am known as a novelist and short-story writer, and

contribute to national magazines upon the request of individual editors. December 9, 1944." HUNT was assigned to OSS Detachment 202, headed by Paul Helliwell (born September 17, 1914). From January 17, 1945 to August 18, 1945, **Paul Helliwell**



served as Chief, Special Intelligence Branch, OSS, China Theater. When the war ended, Paul Helliwell was placed in charge of postwar intelligence, and awarded the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster. In January 1950 he joined the CIA. In 1951 Paul Helliwell helped set up and run Sea Supply Corporation, a CIA proprietary. ANGLETON associate John Hart headed a CIA group of 76 men training the Thai Police via the Sea Supply Corporation. [Indochina Resource Center Study 1.77] Paul Helliwell served as a paymaster during the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. HUNT listed his OSS and military duty: "CBI

Reports Officer, Lecturer on Psychological Warfare at Army-Navy Staff College." HUNT served in the Far East until January 1946. After the war, he went to Mexico on a Guggenheim Fellowship. Later he took up residence in Los Angeles and Miami.

HUNT was an Economic Attaché at the American Embassy, Paris. HUNT'S associates there included Glen Morehouse, a Paris CIA Station officer, Richard Bissell and Frank Wisner. At the Economic Cooperation Administration, Vienna, HUNT produced an anti-communist film directed toward labor groups, entitled *Mit Vereinten Kraeften*. **In 1948 HUNT was employed by the Economic Cooperation Administration** and served in Paris as and aide to Averill Harriman: "A background investigation conducted by the FBI in July 1949 revealed no indication of instability on the Subject's part, but it was later learned that Subject had been refused an increase in salary with the Economic Cooperation Administration and had been permitted to resign. He was described as highly intelligent, but blindly selfish, and egotistical." HUNT'S employment history stated: "May 1948 to February 1948, Economic Cooperation Administration, Public Relations, J. F. Fleming, U. S. Media Specialist. PR work plus speech writing for Ambassador Harriman; film production. Reasons for Leaving: My publishing affairs deteriorated to such an extent that my presence in America became imperative for financial reasons." On November 23, 1949, HUNT was fingerprinted by the FBI for the CIA.

## DOROTHY WETZEL HUNT: 1949



Dorothy Wetzel De Goutiere, born Dorothy Davis to Mrs. Jane Davis, worked for the State Department in Bern, Switzerland, between July 1944 and January 1946 tracing Nazi money in Europe. From April 1946 to May 1947, DOROTHY De Goutiere worked for the Treasury Department, Shanghai, China. She joined Economic Cooperation Administration in April 1948. In this capacity she traveled to Paris and became part of the staff of William Averill Harriman, an administrator of the Marshall Plan. She married HOWARD HUNT on September 7, 1949. The CIA reported that "DOROTHY LOUISE HUNT [OS 355,750] was investigated for Agency employment in 1948. Her former husband [Goutiere] was described as an habitual drunkard and not inclined to remain in any one place for any length of time. She did not enter on duty, having accepted a position with the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris. Our Paris sources later reported that Subject's wife was formerly his mistress and was openly flouted as such for several months. She was then described as an amoral and dangerous individual who underhandedly attacked those persons who incurred her enmity." The De Goutiere in question was probably George De Goutiere, an artist. Saint John Hunt recalled, "She had married first, to an alcoholic French count of some kind; he was later killed in an automobile crash (who knows, certainly not I). She was exotic looking; dark thick hair with a widow's peak, strong high cheekbones, and a well developed full busted figure. She was German and Sioux Indian, and her skin was richly olive toned." [*Bond of Secrecy* St. John Hunt. *Sarasota Herald Tribune* July 7, 1948.]

1949



In 1949 HUNT'S book, *Bimini Run*, was published; Warner Brothers paid HUNT \$35,000 for the movie rights. On May 18, 1949, HUNT filled out a PERSONAL HISTORY

STATEMENT for the CIA. HUNT cited Major J.K. Singlaub as an employment reference. General Singlaub became commander of the Joint Unconventional Warfare Task Force in Vietnam in 1968 and was involved in Operation Phoenix. In 1984 Singlaub headed the World Anti-Communist League. John K. Singlaub had been in HUNT'S OSS unit. On November 8, 1949, HUNT filled out a Personal Status Report. In November 1949 HUNT joined the Office of Policy Coordination (CIA) where he became an International Organization Editor. He remained there until December 1950.

### **1950 TO 1953**

On February 17, 1950, HUNT was informed by the CIA's Office of Security that his wife held left-wing attitudes regarding certain minority groups:

With regard to his wife, Mr. HUNT states that she is one of these individuals who carries the torch for minority groups and always has been too ready to take up the battle when any derogatory remarks are made concerning members of these groups. He advised, however, that she is becoming less pugnacious about this because he has constantly made it a point to request her not to express her opinion so strongly. Mr. HUNT advises, as a matter of fact, that at the outset he used to bait his wife on these matters, but as he realized how strongly she feels about them, he ceased the practice. It seems as though Mrs. Hunt becomes so upset concerning racial and minority prejudices that the resultant condition is really injurious to her health. Mr. HUNT advises that he will have a heart-to-heart talk with his wife and ask her to tighten up on the control of her emotions. He will further suggest to his wife that she take the chip off her shoulders, and if remarks are made which disturb her, she should assume the attitude of considering the source. Mr. HUNT believes his wife is becoming less susceptible to remarks which have enraged her in the past. He has promised me to adopt a policy of discontinuing social relations with individuals who constantly discuss matters which are repugnant to his wife. I was very favorably impressed by Mr. HUNT'S attitude concerning my admonitions, and I respect him for his forthright denouncement and evaluation of his wife's shortcomings. I am firm in my belief that Mr. HUNT is thoroughly patriotic, completely anti-Communist, and that there will be no repetition of past complaints. I sincerely recommend that we close the book on this issue, and start over with a clean slate. (Deleted) OS.

### **THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN EUGENE KARP**

On February 27, 1950, HUNT wrote a memo about his association with U.S. Naval Officer Eugene Simon Karpe.

MEMORANDUM FOR: OSE

SUBJECT: Captain Eugene Karpe, USN, deceased.



1. During 1948 to 1949 I served in Europe as an official of the Economic Cooperation Administration, ranking as an Attache of the American Embassy, Paris.
2. During various periods of temporary duty in Vienna (August to October 1948) I came to know Captain Karpe socially. He came to Vienna frequently on week ends from his Bucharest post, staying, like myself, at the Bristol Hotel.
3. On at least two occasions he flew with me in General Keyes' aircraft from Vienna to Paris, and I had the distinct impression that he wanted to spend as little time as possible in Bucharest because of the annoying and constant surveillance of secret police.
4. On one occasion, returning unexpectedly from Vienna, I encountered Captain Karpe at the Bristol and asked him why he was again in Vienna. He replied that there had been a series of incidents in Bucharest involving servants of Embassy personnel (shadowing, interrogations, etc.) And that I could not imagine how rigorous was the life there for Americans. He added jokingly that he could not even visit a urinal in Bucharest without being accompanied by the Secret Police.
5. At no time did Captain Karpe appear despondent; rather he impressed me a conscientious officer who was undergoing tremendous hardships, but sought relaxation from surveillance at every legitimate opportunity.
6. In October 1949 I encountered Captain Karpe in the Army & Navy Club in Washington, and asked him if his Bucharest assignment had terminated. His answer was rather vague, and my total impression was that he felt I was lucky to be out of Europe, and that he was not anxious to return to Romania.
7. Our association was more than casual, for we had mutual friends in the Navy; one of his classmates, in fact, having been a fellow officer of mine.
8. Although I knew Mr. and Mrs. Robert Vogeler socially in Vienna, I was not aware Captain Karpe knew them, as later events indicate.

HOWARD HUNT PBII/HH/mee.

William Harvey was sent a copy of HUNT'S memorandum regarding Karpe. Eugene Simon Karpe fell off the Orient Express on February 25, 1950:

A track walker found the body of Captain Eugene Simon Karpe of the United States Navy, a friend of imprisoned Robert A. Vogler, in a railway tunnel south of Salzburg yesterday. His passport was missing. United

States Army investigators and Austrian police said they believed Captain Karpe's death had been accidental. American officials in Washington said they were not eliminating the possibility that the officer had been slain. Austrian police said that Captain Karpe, en route to the United States after three years as Naval Attaché in Romania, evidently had fallen from a door of the Arlberg Orient express on a curve...Captain Karpe, 45 years old, was sent to Rumania in 1946 as a naval member of the Allied Control Commission. Officers said all passengers appeared to be legitimate travelers and that there was no reason to suspect them of having had any part in Captain Karpe's death.

HUNT and Eugene Simon Karpe were acquainted with Robert A. Vogeler, who had been sentenced to 15 years in prison for espionage by a Hungarian People's Court on February 20, 1950. Robert A. Vogeler was a roving ITT representative who allegedly plotted to sabotage the Hungarian state-owned telephone company. Vogeler was released after having served one year of his sentence. He denied being a spy ; he said all he had done was keep in touch with "Fish" Karpe. [NYT 2.25.50] On Tuesday, March 2, 1950, United States Army investigators:

...said today that it was possible in the darkness of a Salzberg tunnel Karpe could have been thrown accidentally from the Arlberg-Express." On November 8, 1950, William D. Miller, Assistant Chief, Overseas Branch, sent George P. Loker, Jr. Chief, Special Security Branch, a memo: "Subject (Deleted) OPC (Deleted) of SAC has been changed to above. Former (deleted) was (deleted). On December 14, 1950, the Chief, Special Security Branch, was informed by the Chief, Overseas Branch, that "(deleted) (Pseudo - Office of Policy Coordination) Please cancel your security clearance dated December 7, 1950. The decision has been made that the Subject is to be considered a semi-covert employee (deleted)."

Just before HUNT left for Mexico he reported:

The chaotic day was made more difficult by the sudden arrival of two insurance investigators who questioned us about the mental health of our former French maid, who had become so unhappy at the Auchinclosses' estate, Merrywood, that she tried to commit suicide by jumping off a balcony. She was being cared for at Georgetown Hospital, and the investigators were trying to figure out the precipitating events for her actions. We told them what we could, cut short our interview as the taxi arrived, and departed for National Airport. We changed planes in Dallas and flew south to Mexico City, where we would spend the next three years and where our two daughters would be born. [HUNT *American Spy*]

## MEXICO CITY DECEMBER 1950

HUNT'S first assignment for the Deputy Director/Plans took him to Mexico City where he became head of operations against the Soviets under Chief of Station Winston Scott. The CIA stated: "Subject entered on duty as an Intelligence Officer GS-13 on November 8, 1949. In December 1950 he was assigned as Chief of Station Mexico City, and then served as Chief of Mission until August, 1953." HUNT was trained in Secret Writing, Flaps and Seals and Photography. HUNT described his role in Mexico City as "Chief of the Office of Policy Coordination Station in Mexico City in 1950 to 1952 or 1953." A highly deleted document about the Mexico City CIA Station: "(Deleted) COS Winston M. Scott (deceased) (Deleted) an (retired) (Deleted) (retired) (Deleted) on (retired in Mexico) COVERT ACTION (Deleted) HOWARD HUNT (retired)."

On April 1, 1953, this document about HUNT was generated by the CIA:

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Control Staff

SUBJECT: Publication Clearance - HUNT

1. Mr. HUNT is Deputy Chief of a (Deleted) of the Western Hemisphere Division and he has been operating (Deleted).
2. Mr. HUNT has been granted security clearances for several novels during his employment with this Agency. In 1949, just prior to employment with the CIA, he published *Day of the Serpent*, a fictional work on the OSS in China. He has achieved considerable national prominence as an author of World War II stories.
3. On the last of his PHS he stated that an estimated one million pocket edition copies of two of his books are in circulation. His present publisher, Fawcett Publications, publishes the 25 and 35 cent books which are sold in drugstores, newsstands, hotels, stations etc. throughout the United States. It seems quite probable that Mr. HUNT would be known as a writer by persons in the (Deleted) and that his work would be read by some (Deleted) even though it is in English. It is not known whether or not the pocket book publishing companies have exported their publications in (Deleted).
4. *Darkness on the Land* is the title of the novel for which security clearance is now requested. There appear to be several objectional aspects in the novel when it is considered in combination with the fact that the author is (Deleted) in Latin America.
5. It would seem that the author's fixation in regard to the superiority of the Nordic to the Latin and Indian races, which permeates the entire novel, would be most offensive to Latin Americans. The Latin American might

well argue that Mr. HUNT, like Erskine Caldwell, has taken a sample of the illiterate, amoral minority in Latin America and used it to depict a whole culture.

On **September 17, 1953**, HUNT generated a MFR on Cornelius Van Manen, a Dutch citizen who was entering the United States military: "Subject stated that it was unfortunate that Hitler did not succeed in his conquest of Europe...HOWARD HUNT SE/CPP." On December 4, 1953, HUNT was granted clearance for attendance at lectures of the Armed Forces Industrial College. HUNT worked with Colonel Edward Landsdale, an Army counterinsurgency expert. During his career with the CIA, HUNT was listed as assigned to the following Staffs and Divisions: PB II, WH/?, SP/?, PY/?, PP/CR/TV, SE/PP, WH/4, DODS/ R & P, DO/CA, OPSER, C/E/CA. In 1953 HUNT earned an Appreciation from Chief, PP, for assistance rendered in the preparation of "PP Operational Aids." In 1953 HUNT won another Appreciation from P.T. Culbertson, American Embassy, (Deleted) for ability, discretion and judgement displayed while assigned to (Deleted).

HUNT served as Case Officer for **William F. Buckley Jr.** in the early 1950's. William F.



Buckley Sr. had been an owner of the Pantipec Oil Company in Mexico. In the early 1920's, Mexican nationalists sent him to the United States. His fortune remained intact, and he used it to again speculate in oil, ultimately amassing a fortune. When Pantipec reopened in Mexico it was part of an oil empire worth an estimated \$110 million. [Markmann *The Buckleys* William Morrow 1973 p33] Born in 1925, William Buckley Jr. studied at the University of Mexico and then at Yale, where he wrote a tome attacking liberalism, *God and Man at Yale*. When William F. Buckley Jr. returned to Mexico in July 1951, he

had some familiarity with the country and language. He resigned from the CIA in 1952 and joined the staff of *The American Mercury*. In 1955 he founded his own magazine, *The National Review*. William F. Buckley helped organize the American Committee to Aid the Katanga Freedom Fighters, who opposed Patrice Lumumba. William F. Buckley's CIA file was still withheld as of 2010. The CIA: "Third party information (Summary of Bill Buckley's relationship with the CIA)."

#### E. HOWARD HUNT AND BORIS PASH

In 1954 HUNT was in contact with the CIA's assassination unit. HUNT recalled:

The CIA had set up a small group to arrange for assassinations of suspected double-agents and similar low ranking officials...I was told by my CIA superiors in 1954 that Boris T. Pash, an Agency official, was in charge of the assassination unit...Boris Pash was the man in charge of an area that dealt with removals by violent means...I never asked Boris Pash to plan an assassination mission, I simply asked him if he had the capability.



Boris Pash, a former Army intelligence agent, headed the Alsos Mission during World War II. Its target goals were the capture of German scientists and the termination of the Nazi atomic bomb program. After the war, Boris Pash, an associate of John Earman, helped Nazi scientists enter the United States. [Lasby *Project Paperclip* p203; HUNT Depo. in *HUNT v. WEBERMAN* First Depo. undated; Hersch *Old Boys* p226] Boris Pash joined HUNT at the Office of Policy Coordination in 1949, where he worked in the Office of Special Operations, Program Branch 7 (PB/7). ANGLETON and William K. Harvey directed the Office of Special Operations. DAVID

PHILLIPS was asked: "Do you know if William K. Harvey knew Mr. HUNT or ever worked with Mr. HUNT, to your knowledge?" He responded: "I think it is quite possible since they both were in the Agency for a long time." The Operations Planning Director of the Office of Policy Coordination, who supervised PB/7, confirmed it was responsible for assassinations and kidnapping. The Deputy Chief of PB/7, who served under Boris Pash, testified he had a clear recollection that the written charter of the Office of Special Operation included the following language: "PB/7 will be responsible for assassinations, kidnapping and other such functions as *from time to time* may be given it."

HUNT was questioned about Boris Pash by the SSCIA:

I will have to go back considerably in time to the period in 1954 and early 1955 when I was staff officer of the Southeast European Division of the CIA. My title was Chief of Political and Psychological Warfare for Southeast Europe. As such I had staff responsibility to the Chief of the Division for all political and psychological warfare matters that involved the following countries: Albania, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria...I was of course in daily contact with the chiefs of the various country branches and it came to my attention that we were having considerable difficulty with our Albanian Guard Unit, I believe it was called, which was then located in West Germany. This guard unit had been drawn largely from the retainers of King Zog of Albania...That is bodyguards, members of his personal staff, probably some relatives...The Agency in fact, had been encountering a lot of difficulty with losing agents, Albanian agents who parachuted into the area. And as a result of the rapid disappearance of our parachuted agents, it became a matter of some concern to the Division. To the best of my recollection, the presence of a double agent or a penetration agent, in the Albanian guard unit was suspected, if not assumed. To that end there was some discussion, the details of which are no longer clear to me, about the best way to cleanse the unit of whatever offending individual there might be, the penetration agent. And I don't recall whether I was specifically commissioned to look into the method of cleansing, or whether it was a matter of my personal interest. But in any event, I inquired around among knowledgeable people in the Agency and it came to my attention and I hate, again, to be so indefinite, although I will speculate on who might have directed me to this particular unit. I was told



that somewhere within the overall political and psychological staff there was located a man with a small office. This man's name was Colonel Boris Pash, and my understanding was that Colonel Pash had been doing business, let us say, with the Agency in West Germany for quite a while. I sought out Colonel Pash. I was directed to his office and I found sitting with him another Agency officer named [Martin Lazarus]. I'm not sure whether it is (Deleted).

Mr. Baron: It's a Greek name. (Deleted) is his correct first name, but he goes by (Deleted).

Mr. HUNT: Very good. But in any case, he was known throughout my career as (Deleted). And I was at that point on, let's say, a search mission to determine whether the alleged capability of Colonel Pash in 'wet affairs,' which is how it was referred to, that is, liquidations, would have any relevance to our particular problem of the Albanian disappointments. [By liquidation I mean] assassinations, kidnappings, removals, let's say. So I spoke to Colonel Pash in Mr. (Deleted's) presence. I explained the problem to him, although at that juncture I'm quite sure that we had not identified the Albanian suspect. So we were talking hypothetically. And I might say parenthetically, at this juncture, that it became clear many years later that the actual informant was Kim Philby, the British MI-6 Chief who was keeping everyone apprised of our Albanian activities. So in fact, we had no nominee for Colonel Pash's special attentions. However, I broached the problem on a hypothetical basis to Colonel Pash, who seemed to, he didn't pick up on it immediately. He seemed a little startled at the subject. He indicated it was something that would have to be approved by higher authority, and I withdrew, and never approached Colonel Pash again. This took place in Colonel Pash's office, which, to the best of my recollection, was in the complex in the old JKL series of CIA buildings along the reflecting pool. They have since been demolished. And in Exhibit Four here I give a breakdown, to the best of my recollection, of the PP staff at that time, which we can go into. I don't want to really interrupt the continuity of what I have to say, but just for clarification, so everyone will know what we're talking about, and who was situated where at the time. Then I can go into that apart from this, if that's all right with you. I should also say, and I'm sorry I didn't mention this earlier when I first inquired around for the location of Colonel Pash and his assistant, that reaction I encountered was a rather jesting one, and the impression I gained was here were a couple of men who were drawing salaries and doing very little. And so when Colonel Pash seemed reluctant to become involved in responding affirmatively to my questions, my inference was that Colonel Pash and (deleted) could well not have such a capability, but for the purposes of employment and status, this was the job they had. But they didn't want anyone to call upon them to activate their particular abilities.

Now that was my impression and I was a little disgusted by it. I think I talked to the Chief of the PP staff later, who was, of course, well aware of the Albanian problem and I said I didn't get any satisfaction from Pash, but it doesn't really make any difference because we don't have the name of the suspected individual.

Baron: Just to stop here for a second and clear up some of these details, were you under the impression that what you called wet affairs, assassinations, kidnappings or other removals from the scene of troublesome individuals was the primary function of this unit?

HUNT: Yes, if fact the only. As far as I knew, they had no other function. If they had another function I was never made aware of what it was...

Baron: Did whoever gave you the information about Boris Pash indicate to you that there were any other units in the CIA that could take care of such problems by means of assassinations?

HUNT: No. My distinct impression and recollection is that the function, if indeed it existed, and I believed it then to have existed as I do today, was centralized or focused in Colonel Pash and (Deleted).

Baron: Now what would have been the formal title of the unit that Colonel Pash and (Deleted) were running?

HUNT: If it had one I never knew it...as I recall my conversation with him was a relatively brief one. I stepped in the door, met him, saw (Deleted) who I knew briefly or at least knew him by sight, and I sat down and said we have this problem in the Albanian Branch. We may need somebody liquidated in Western Germany. Can you handle it if the day comes, or if it comes to that? And he seemed a little startled. I have already indicated that.

Colonel Pash indicated or said to me that it was a matter that would have to be approved by higher authority and as a relatively low ranking officer in those days, I thought he was probably referring to Frank Wisner. And indeed he may have. It never got pushed up to Frank Wisner's level because there was no direct approach or a request for such approval was ever made...Now his saying that to me was of course bureaucratically quite appropriate. There was nothing inappropriate in such a response. It neither indicated an enthusiasm for the proposal for that line of work, nor was it a washing of his hands. I felt that he was just glad that he had to reach for higher authority, that it was a deflection, and that he would just as soon not hear any more about it, not because of any moral consideration or anything, but simply from a bureaucratic point of view. He was comfortable where he was and don't bother me.

I left with the impression that Colonel Pash was glad that he wasn't going to have any business for me or that he had successfully deflected whatever approach I might be making to him because it would give him and (Deleted) an opportunity to drink more coffee and to draw their salaries from the Agency while affecting to do a job that they were perhaps not equipped to do.

Now again, that impression I had when I left was at variance with what I had heard before I came in, where I heard he and (deleted) or he at least had been active in West Germany in wet affairs, particularly kidnappings and that sort of thing. If not personally, certainly he could arrange to have it done. That was my distinct impression. Otherwise I would not have sought him out...I had known previously that he had been associated during the war with the Manhattan Project and that he had a security background...it was my impression that Boris Pash had been active a couple of years at least before I knew him in West Germany with the sort of thing that we had been discussing so far today...kidnappings mostly in West Germany and West Berlin..." HUNT'S overall impression after their conversation was that Boris Pash's function was to carry out assassinations "albeit reluctantly, because my impression was that he was a man who really didn't want to be disturbed. He was comfortable where he was."

When HUNT was asked to list others who were aware of Boris Pash's function: General Robert Cushman, John Richardson, John Baker (former Chief of the PP Staff), Milton Buffington, Tracy Barnes (former Chief of the PP Staff). HUNT stated:

I would think that JIM ANGLETON, who would have had direct knowledge and always was the Chief of the CI/CE staff. The Chief of base in (Deleted) if in fact Pash conducted any activities in that area, certainly the Chief of base in (Deleted) would have been knowledgeable about it. Also the Chief of base at (deleted) which was where we had the (deleted) penetration going on. I don't know whether William K. Harvey, at that time was Chief of Operations (deleted) or whether he was simply running the tunnel, but William K. Harvey might well have some knowledge of Boris Pash. I would certainly assume that when we're talking about liquidations and that sort of thing that the Agency's overall Office of Security somewhere within it must have been involved, such German Division personnel as might be available today, West German, and I would also suggest that General Cushman might be knowledgeable for this reason. It was about this time that General Cushman was still assigned to the CIA. I could be wrong about that but I seem to have a memory of Cushman being around in those days. He was then a Colonel. I had associated with him. In fact, we shared an office at one time, but that was several years earlier. But I'm sure that Cushman was around in that period of time and involved with the PP Staff though what his function was I don't know.

Baron: Let me return to one name that you mentioned and this is William Harvey. What was the nature of your operational relationships to William Harvey after this period. Did you have any?

HUNT: I never had any, no. In fact I've only seen him once in my life, to the best of my recollection.

Baron: As you may know, William Harvey was tasked in 1961 with setting up an executive action capability at the CIA, tasked originally by Richard Bissell to carry out assassinations if required. Do you have any connection from any source of any connection between what Harvey was doing and what Pash was doing?

HUNT: No.

HUNT told his lawyer that he had "met Boris Pash in a hallway at some point after the initial discussion of this matter and asked him where it stood? And he replied this is very heavy stuff. I must be very selective in talking about it, and [HUNT] dropped the matter." Boris Pash denied HUNT'S allegations and claimed he never met him and that he was never involved in assassination planning.

During *HUNT v. WEBERMAN*, HUNT was asked:

Q. Have you ever discussed the subject of an assassination with Mr. Pash?

A. Nor assassination qua assassination, but the liquidation, removal of

MR. Weberman: (Laughs)

THE DEPONENT: (continuing) an objectionable -- I would request that the --

Mr. FRIEDMAN: I am asking Mr. Weberman to maintain himself.

MR. Weberman: It's kind of funny, you know.

THE DEPONENT: Mr. Pash, Colonel Pash, was described to me as the man in charge of an area that dealt with removals by violent means. He later testified that he never had such capacity. So, with the exception of the man who was alleged by other to be in the business, to my knowledge I have never known anybody in the assassination business.

Q. Boris Pash denies ever having talked to you about this.

A. Well, he is an old man. I would say that it has escaped his mind, probably trivial at the time because that wasn't his line of work.

HUNT told the SSCIA: "I might add that I was rather briefly at CIA headquarters at that time and within a very short period of time after I had had my interview with Colonel Pash, I was transferred to the Guatemala Project, the overthrow of Guatemala."

#### THE OVERTHROW OF JACOBO ARBENZ 1954



Jacobo Arbenz, a professional Army officer, was the son of a Swiss father who migrated to Guatemala. In 1944 Jacobo Arbenz took part in a military coup against General Jorge Ubico. Dissatisfied with a successor of Jorge Ubico, Jacobo Arbenz participated in another coup and became a member of the subsequently installed Junta. Jacobo Arbenz was made the ranking officer in the Guatemalan Army in 1949, after his chief rival was ambushed and assassinated. The chauffeur of Jacobo Arbenz, and later his secretary, was credited with the murder. Jacobo Arbenz ran for President in 1950. During the election campaign his main rival, General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, went into hiding under threat of arrest. Five days before Jacobo Arbenz was elected President through massive vote fraud in November 1950, Colonel Carlos Castillo-Armas headed an unsuccessful revolt against him. Carlos Castillo-Armas was badly wounded and thrown into prison. Jacobo Arbenz took office in March 1951. The following summer Carlos Castillo-Armas tunneled his way out of prison and left the country. President Arbenz declared a partial state of siege in 1951, allegedly to control the dispatches of unfriendly foreign correspondents. Arbenz also tried to institute land reforms; the United Fruit Company, the country's biggest employer, was outraged when he expropriated 225,000 acres of its property. The profits of United Fruit began to drop when labor unions demanded \$2.50 a day for each worker, instead of \$1.36. [*Business Week* 4.30.55] During the early 1950's, United Fruit was a symbol of American economic imperialism. The term "Banana Republic" had its roots in the domination by United Fruit of Central and South American governments. Jacobo Arbenz turned frequently to the Communists to maintain his power. By 1954 they were running Guatemala. President Eisenhower, Vice President NIXON and the other National Security Council members called for the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz. In the spring of 1954, the USSR began covertly supplying the Guatemalan regime with arms, hidden aboard a Swedish freighter, in unmarked boxes. When the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles, received news of this shipment, the fate of Jacobo Arbenz was sealed.



## HUNT'S VERSION



HUNT 1954

In his autobiography, *Undercover*, HUNT recalled that he recommended the ouster of Jacobo Arbenz shortly after he was elected, but his superiors at the CIA refused to act until Arbenz threatened the profits of United Fruit. Then, according to HUNT, the lawyer who represented United Fruit, Ernest Cuneo, pressured the CIA leadership into taking action against Arbenz. DAVID PHILLIPS described the chain of command in the Arbenz operation as follows: the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Allen Dulles; then Director /Plans Richard Bissell; then Deputy Director/Plans Frank Wisner and his

subordinate Tracy Barnes; then Colonel J.C. King, Chief /Western Hemisphere Division; then himself and HUNT.

### TRACY BARNES



Tracy Barnes graduated from Harvard Law School and practiced with Carter, Ledyard & Milburn. [Weyden *Bay of Pigs* p39] During the war, Tracy Barnes joined the OSS and worked with Allen Dulles in attempting to arrange a secret surrender of the Nazis in Italy in 1945. In February 1951 he joined the CIA. He became Deputy Director of the Psychological Strategy Board during the Korean war. Tracy Barnes served as Chief of Station of the CIA in Frankfurt, Germany, from 1954 to 1956, and London Chief of Station from 1957 to 1959. Tracy Barnes was a relative of Nelson Rockefeller. Nelson Rockefeller's Latin American interests had been endangered by Arbenz. Nelson Rockefeller joined the Eisenhower Administration from 1953 to 1954 as a Special Consultant, Assistant for Cold War Strategy. Tracy Barnes chose HUNT and PHILLIPS for the Arbenz operation, which was given a semi-autonomous status. HUNT was posted to Miami. In 1954 the CIA approached Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, then an anti-Arbenz exile living in El Salvador. In *My War With Communism*, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes wrote: "A former United Fruit Company executive...came to see me with two gentlemen whom he introduced as CIA agents. They said I was a popular figure in Guatemala and they wanted to lend me their assistance to overthrow Arbenz. When I asked for the conditions for the assistance I found them unacceptable. Among other things I was asked to favor the United Fruit Company..." Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes agreed to support the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz but, according to HUNT, "It had been decided at the State Department that Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes was a 'right-wing reactionary'...and so the CIA's support was put behind Colonel Carlos Castillo-Armas."

On January 29, 1954, Jacobo Arbenz charged that Carlos Castillo-Armas and Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes were receiving assistance, in their joint effort to overthrow him, from Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza. Anastasio Somoza allowed anti-Arbenz forces to use an island off the Nicaraguan coast as a base of operations. American soldiers-of-fortune, working as CIA contract employees, were the flyers of the Guatemalan rebel air force. On the morning of the planned invasion a meeting took place among President Eisenhower, the Dulles brothers, and Joint Chiefs of Staff representatives, during which President Eisenhower asked if they were sure the operation would succeed. Assured that it would, President Eisenhower responded: "I'm prepared to take any steps that are necessary to see that it succeeds." [Ross & Wise *Inv. Gov.* p176]



On June 18, 1954, Carlos Castillo-Armas and his army crossed the Honduran border into Guatemala. His CIA-sponsored air force had just bombed San José, a large Guatemalan port city. The troops of Carlos Castillo-Armas dug in just inside the Guatemalan border, where they waited for further air strikes. After the forces of Jacobo Arbenz took out most of CIA's exile air force, the CIA immediately resupplied them with new aircraft. Under constant air attack, Jacobo Arbenz began to panic. On June 22, 1954, Guatemalan Government forces began an unsuccessful drive to dislodge the forces of Carlos Castillo-Armas. At the front, CIA-recruited members of the Army of

Jacobo Arbenz, at the request of DAVID PHILLIPS, sent back messages to him that they were being overwhelmed by the troops of Carlos Castillo-Armas. PHILLIPS also set up a clandestine radio station in Mexico, the "Voice of Liberation" which pretended to be broadcasting from within Guatemala and orchestrated false reports about legions of rebels who didn't exist and major battles that never took place. Under such a propaganda barrage, on June 25, 1954, Jacobo Arbenz resigned and took asylum in the Mexican Embassy. On July 8, 1954, a Guatemalan military junta elected Carlos Castillo-Armas President. In August Castillo-Armas suspended all civil liberties. Soon he restored to United Fruit the land seized by Jacobo Arbenz.

### THE DEATH OF JACOBO ARBENZ

Jacobo Arbenz lived in exile until June 27, 1971, when he was found dead in his bathtub in Mexico City at age 57. Officials listed the cause of death as drowning due to a heart attack. Jacobo Arbenz had been under treatment for a stomach ailment. [Immerman, R. *CIA in Guatemala* pp. 139-140; *NYT* 1.28.71] *La Prensa*, the newspaper of Buenos Aires, reported:

The death of Jacobo Arbenz still has not become clear. Jacobo Arbenz was found asphyxiated and drowned in his bathtub, covered by boiling water. According to the police, the body was horribly burned by hot water and an autopsy was needed to determine the cause of death. The police indicated that Arbenz did not spend much time in the bathtub and the door to the bathroom was locked. They had to break it down to enter.

In 1955 Allen Dulles dispatched the former adversary of Arbenz, Ambassador John E. Peurifoy, to Bangkok, Thailand. There, John E. Peurifoy and his son were killed in a head-on collision with a heavy truck in 1956. HOWARD HUNT believed his death was the revenge of the Communists. [Immerman, R. *CIA in Guatemala* p253] Author Thomas Powers reported that two Guatemalans who worked closely with DAVID PHILLIPS on a clandestine radio transmitter, known as the Voice of Liberation, were assassinated in 1957. Ché Guevara took asylum with Jacobo Arbenz. It took him a month to get out of Guatemala. Author Thomas Powers reported: "PHILLIPS was in Guatemala searching through captured documents, and opened a CIA file on Guevara."

### THE ILLNESS OF DR. JUAN CORDOVA CERNA

In *Give Us This Day* HUNT related that the CIA had initially favored a pre-eminent jurist and coffee grower, Juan Cordova Cerna, to head the post-Arbenz regime:

I thought back to the period before the overthrow of Colonel Arbenz when the CIA was treating with three exiled leaders: Colonel Castillo Armas, Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna, and Colonel Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. As a distinguished and respected jurist, Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna had my personal vote as provisional president; our paramilitary people, however, were impressed with Castillo Armas' qualities as a military leader, and State had vetoed Ydigoras Fuentes as authoritarian. I remembered meeting secretly with Juan Cordova Cerna in a room in the Mexico City YMCA, and how at a critical time in the pre-invasion maneuvering, he had been forced to enter the Ochsner Clinic for cancer surgery. With his hospitalization, the possibility of civilian leadership ended, and Colonel Armas was selected to carry through. Chance, then, as it so often does, played the decisive role in the destiny of a nation.

In *Undercover*, HUNT recounted that Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna "reluctantly had left Guatemala for New Orleans. There, it was discovered that he suffered from throat cancer and treatment was begun at the Ochsner Clinic in New Orleans." [HUNT *Undercover* p97] PHILLIPS wrote: "One facet of CIA planning had gone awry in a development beyond control - the moderate civilian who was groomed to become the interim President contracted a fatal illness." [PHILLIPS *Nightwatch* p53] PHILLIPS was asked "Do you have any knowledge about how Juan Cordova came to contract the disease, cancer?" He answered: "No, I do not know."

Did Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna really have HUNT'S personal vote? HUNT wrote: "It had been decided at the State Department Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes was a right-wing reactionary." In the past, HUNT favored political figures who had been labeled "right-wing reactionaries" by the State Department. For example, he described his friend Pedro Diaz Lanz as one of those labeled a right-wing reactionary. Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna would not have conformed to HUNT'S vision of a post-Arbenz government. Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna, a candidate for election in 1950, was a former legal advisor for the United Fruit Company. Washington lobbyist Tom Corcoran, an associate of Ernest Cuneo, called Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna "the liberal" among the exiles. Ché Guevara wrote his followers: "Keep in contact and be united with groups around Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna...because they represent valuable allies and should not be despised." [Fuentes, *My War with Communism* p146] After Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, HUNT'S next logical choice should have been Castillo Armas.

Had HUNT poisoned Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna during their meeting, to thwart the wish of the State Department to make him the head of the post-Arbenz Guatemalan government? Could the cancer of Juan Cordova Cerna have had some relation to the Ochsner Clinic? Was the Clinic unwittingly or wittingly CIA-penetrated? No credible evidence of this exists as of 1996; however some interesting documents have been released regarding Alton Ochsner.

## DOCTOR ALTON OCHSNER



Dr. Alton Ochsner (born May 4, 1896; died August 1981), the founder of the Ochsner Clinic, had prestigious credentials and was the past president of the American Cancer Society. Alton Ochsner was part of the New Orleans anti-Communist community which included David Ferrie and his associate, William Guy Banister. Ochsner was linked to FBI Agent WARREN C. DeBRUEYS through the New Orleans Crime Commission in 1967. Alton Ochsner was linked to OSWALD through these men. Carlos De La Vega, a Cuban exile, was director of Latin American Relations of the Ochsner Foundation. Carlos De La Vega was under a special State Department contract to act as a bodyguard for foreign dignitaries. [Memo Martin to Garrison 3.31.67] Dr. Alton Ochsner was a consultant to the U.S. Air Force "on the medical side of subversive matters," and a personal friend of the Somoza family. [Scott, *Beyond Conspiracy* p649]

In April 1993, Dr. Alton Ochsner's son, Alton Ochsner Jr., was asked: "Did your dad know guys like Ferrie and that crew? Freedom fighter types?" He replied: "Yeah, he knew about anybody who might have been labeled an anti-communist. My dad was a strong anti-communist and he believed in all these things. He knew all the local people who were on trial or involved in the Garrison investigation. Now he and Ed Butler thought OSWALD was involved in a communist conspiracy. I don't think they thought this was the CIA at that time.

My daddy was an ambassador without portfolio to Central America, and particularly Nicaragua. He went down there...he was a professor of surgery at Tulane and some of the most distinguished Latin American citizens were the doctors. Some trained under him at Tulane, so he had a close connection with them. Some became government leaders. And he went down there several times, not as an ambassador, but as a doctor...he probably knew, or met, the fellow that came up to the Ochsner Clinic [Dr. Juan Cordova Cerna]. He came up to the clinic because of my dad's connection with those people, but I don't know specifically who took care of that patient or whether my dad was actually doing it...

Dr. Ochsner was asked if his father had ever been approached by the CIA:

Yeah, some Argentinean colonel contacted my dad and said there was a Argentinean, he wouldn't say his name, that needed my dad's medical attention. He asked him to come down and see him, because for political reasons the man couldn't leave the country. Shortly before my dad saw that fella, the CIA visited my dad, and said 'Are you going down to see Peron?' And he said, 'I don't know who I am going to see'...He went down there and it was Juan Peron, he had a vascular occlusion of his leg. He needed a particular kind of surgery the Argentineans hadn't perfected. My



dad was hesitant to do it in Argentina and, unfortunately, it was not politically right for Peron to leave Argentina. He entertained my dad royally.

#### ALTON OCHSNER AND THE CIA

The CIA reported: "Dr. Ochsner was of contact interest in October 1947 and November 1948. He has been a cleared source since May 13, 1955. The last official contact with Dr. Ochsner personally occurred on January 8, 1962, and with the Ochsner Clinic on November 8, 1963." Another CIA document read:

May 17, 1968

SUBJECT: Ochsner, Alton

Alton Ochsner, born May 4, 1896, at Kimball, South Dakota, is Director of the Ochsner Foundation and head of the Ochsner Clinic, New Orleans, Louisiana.

He was of contact interest in October 1947 and November 1948. His file indicates no further interest from that time.

Another CIA document read:

May 31, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, CI/RA [Raymond Rocca]

ATTENTION: Mr. Kesler

SUBJECT: OCHSNER, Edward William Alton aka OCHSNER, Alton BUTLER, Edward S.

REFERENCE: Memo dated May 17, 1968, from C/SRS/OS to C/CI/R&A - Subject: Ochsner, Alton.

Per your request of May 17, 1968, for additional information on Alton Ochsner that would (deleted) a manual search of Office of Security indices on Ochsner resulted in a record on Edward William Alton Ochsner who is identical to Alton Ochsner. A summary of information contained in Edward William Ochsner's file is attached.

Also attached for your information, per request of May 17, 1968, is a summary of Edward S. Butler which had been previously prepared for the information of the Director of Security.

Paul F. Gaynor, Chief Security Research Staff/Office of Security.

Attachment as stated:

SUBJECT: Ochsner, Edward William Alton aka Ochsner, Alton

Subject, who was born May 4, 1896, at Kimbell, South Dakota, is the Director of the Ochsner Clinic (Paragraph deleted).

His spouse's name was given as Mabel Lockwood Ochsner, born November 8, 1896, at Chicago, Illinois. They were married September 23, 1923, and have four children but the children's names were not listed.

There is no information in his file to reflect any connection with the Information Council of the Americas.

### THE REGIME OF CARLOS CASTILLO-ARMAS

Carlos Castillo-Armas proved to be more dogmatically anti-Communist than Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. Within a week of his taking power, the new government announced that it had arrested 4,000 people for taking part in Communist activity. Within four months, the Carlos Castillo-Armas government registered 72,000 people as Communists and expropriated the property of most of its political foes. It disenfranchised illiterate Guatemalans (more than 70% of the population), among whom the Communists had been influential. Under the Carlos Castillo-Armas government \$900 million in aid flowed into Guatemala, largely from the U.S. The Carlos Castillo-Armas regime became inept and scandal-ridden. CIA was dismayed.

### THE DEATH OF CARLOS CASTILLO-ARMAS

On July 26, 1957, President Carlos Castillo-Armas was shot down at about 9:00 p.m. as he and his wife prepared to enter the dining room of the Presidential Palace. He was struck by two bullets, one of which severed his aorta. A communiqué identified the assassin as Romeo Vasquez Sanchez, 20 years old; it said he immediately committed suicide with the same rifle he had used to kill the President. The first authorities to arrive on the scene after the shooting were all military, including the Minister of Defense. The Guatemalan Government described Romeo Vasquez Sanchez as a "Communist fanatic" who was expelled from the Guatemalan Army six months ago for "Communist ideology," but had joined the Presidential Palace Guard. Eight days later, the Guatemalan Government said Romeo Vasquez Sanchez had been dismissed from the Army in June 1955, two years ago. It claimed to have a 40-page handwritten diary in which the assassin referred to "a diabolic plan to put an end to the existence of the man who holds power." The diary read: "I have had the opportunity to study Russian communism. The great nation that is Russia is fulfilling a most important mission in history...the Soviet Union is the first world power in progress and scientific research." The Guatemalan Government claimed to have found evidence on the person of Romeo

Vasquez Sanchez that linked him to Moscow. The evidence turned out to be a card from the Latin American service of Radio Moscow that read: "It is our pleasure, dear listener, to engage in correspondence with you. We are very thankful for your regular listening to these programs."

When OSWALD was arrested in New Orleans, he had the name of a Radio Moscow commentator on his person. A few days later, the Guatemalan presidential press office gave out photostatic copies of another postcard from Radio Moscow Romeo Vasquez Sanchez had just received. Government investigators linked Romeo Vasquez Sanchez to Moscow-directed Communist plotting, however, no evidence ever turned up that Romeo Vasquez Sanchez was a member of the Guatemalan Communist Party. The death of Carlos Castillo-Armas was then blamed on his enemies within the government. Forty-eight civilians were brought in for questioning and 17 Presidential Guard members were court-martialed. Two privates were sentenced to two-year prison terms for alleged previous knowledge of a plot to kill the President. HUNT: "Now Carlos Castillo-Armas was dead, assassinated by a member of the Presidential bodyguard in whose pocket was found a card from Radio Moscow, and Ydigoras his elected heir. Perhaps, I reflected, the fact of Ydigoras' presidency meant he should have been selected six years earlier." [HUNT *Day* p119]

The scenario for the Carlos Castillo-Armas assassination was similar to that of the Kennedy assassination. Both assassins were alleged Communists who had no official Communist Party ties. Both assassins were to be killed shortly after the assassination - although there was a two-day delay in OSWALD'S case. Both assassins were supposed to be linked to Moscow - Romeo Vasquez Sanchez via a card from Radio Moscow, OSWALD through defection to Russia and a visit to Cuba. Both men kept diaries.

### MIGUEL YDIGORAS FUENTES

The man who was really HUNT'S first choice, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, was elected Guatemalan President in 1958 after his defeat in a first election resulted in street riots, strikes, demonstrations and general lawlessness by his supporters. In return for quelling the disturbances, the junta proceeded to nullify the election and hold another. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes won the second election. Six weeks later, he visited President Eisenhower in Washington, to show he was not the "rightist monster I have been painted."

Guatemala was again safe for American investments, and in 1959, *Fortune* magazine reported that United Fruit was "in Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras and is still the largest single private landowner, single largest business and largest corporate employer." The magazine noted that the former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, General Walter Bedell Smith, had become a director of the United Fruit Company. [McCann *United Fruit* p62]

## YDIGORAS FUENTES IS OUSTED



Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes instituted land and tax reforms then allowed Juan José Arévalo, a anti-Communist socialist, to return to Guatemala from exile in Mexico City. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes believed that the return of Juan José Arévalo would eventually redound to the benefit of Roberto Alejos, whom he was grooming as his successor. Instead, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes was overthrown and Roberto Alejos arrested. In 1963 Roberto Alejos' candidate for Congressional President, Manuel Orellana Portillo, was arrested on drug charges. [Scott, *Deep Pol.* p337] The Minister of Defense, Enrique Peralta Azudia, took charge of the government. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes flew to Nicaragua, where he praised the generals who had removed him from power. After this coup, many leftists were allegedly murdered. No reports of the murders appeared in the press in 1963. Nonetheless in 1976, Andrew St. George, a journalist with CIA contacts, located a Cuban exile who participated in the extermination sweeps. The exile claimed he was flown to Guatemala in a black airplane with no markings, given a gun and a police identification card by Colonel Barrios, the Guatemalan in charge of the operation, then commanded to kill specific leftists.

## ANDREW ST. GEORGE

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD July 25, 1975

SUBJECT: Andrew St. George

aka: Andrew Szent Gyorgi

SF # 424 122

1. Andrew St. George was first of interest to the Office of Security in December 1949 upon receipt of information of a counter-intelligence nature concerning Soviet intelligence service use of Andrew St. George as an agent in Vienna, Austria, in the mid-1940's. In December 1958 Andrew St. George was of interest to the Western Hemisphere Division for debriefing regarding his knowledge of Castro rebel activities, however, this interest was short-lived, being canceled in January 1959. In January 1960 St. George was of interest to the Domestic Contacts Division as a source of foreign positive intelligence, and he was contacted by 00/Contact Division then and again in February 1962 and March 1964. His wife, Jean St. George, nee: Hoopes (SF #428675) was also of interest to 00/Contact Division in August 1960. (Note: Mrs. St. George is a cousin of former staff employee, Mary F. Wallen, SF # 34 760).

2. For the most part, the St. George file contains information of a counter-intelligence nature and information concerning his writings. There is cross-

reference information in the file identifying at least one DDO asset. [CIA MFR 7.25.75; Werbell doc. grp.; FBI 118-5695, 100-347094; FBI 62-5, Serial 44368 UnID; FBI WFO 118-5519 p5; *Wall Street Journal* 4.18.80]

#### E. HOWARD HUNT: 1955 to 1957

HUNT won a Commendation from Tracy Barnes for his part in PB SUCCESS. As noted by PHILLIPS, "HOWARD HUNT was assigned to the American Embassy in Tokyo" in 1955. In 1955 the Inspector General of the CIA generated several reports regarding the HUNT'S activities in Japan. Some were memorandums by Bruce Solie regarding the employment of Mrs. Hunt at the Argentine Embassy, Tokyo, others concerned "Activities of HUNT and his Wife in Tokyo: HUNT and the Screen Writers Guild and Authors League of America; HUNT'S feeling Towards Communism - Stella Kim." In 1956 HUNT worked on the U-2 project: "I had been involved [with Richard Bissell] in arranging certain landing and takeoff privileges for U-2 aircraft abroad."

On June 7, 1956, the CIA generated this Inter-Office Memorandum to File:

Subject: Cross References.

1. During processing or review, it has been determined that a possible or actual relationship exists, or may exist, between or among the person listed below: (Deleted) (illegible numbers) #39128, #36992, #37268, #37736, #39772, HUNT HOWARD #23500."

#### 1957 CHIEF OF STATION MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

HUNT'S assignment in Japan ended in February 1957. HUNT was Station Chief in Montevideo, Uruguay from January 1957 to June 1960. On October 22, 1956, Joseph M. Adams, Chief, Official Cover and Liaison, sent a Request for Security Certification to the Chief of the Personnel Security Division regarding HUNT: "It is requested that the appropriate security certification be prepared and forwarded to the (deleted) as soon as possible. This SAC is to be assigned to (deleted) and will depart Washington for PCS on or about March 1, 1957." Tad Szulc reported HUNT secretly organized a plan to overthrow the Uruguayan Government of President Benito Nardone. [Szulc *Compulsive Spy* p77] When HUNT'S Attorney, Ellis Rubin, asked him to name the source of this information, Szulc said he was unclear on the matter. The CIA created this index card: "HUNT, E. HOWARD CR #160644 \*(deleted) Memo for NYFO May 5, 1958 WH Div May 20, 1958 May 5, 1958 for NFO May 20, 1958 for WHO 0595211."

#### HOWARD HUNT 1959 - 1960

In January 1959 HUNT said that he advocated the immediate assassination of Fidel Castro and that the Eisenhower Administration had turned down his recommendation. On **November 30, 1959**, HUNT was suspended from the CIA for one day for the unauthorized recording of safe combinations. HUNT had recorded his safe combination

on the bottom of his pen holder. This was discovered during a Security Sweep by the Marine Guards. In **August 1960** the CIA helped HUNT's family when they returned to New York City from Brazil. HUNT was described as an employee of GOLIATH.

In **March 1960** Tracy Barnes advised HUNT he was needed for a new project: "Tracy Barnes told me my job would be essentially the same as my earlier one - chief of political action for a project recommended by the National Security Council and approved by President Eisenhower: to assist Cuban exiles in overthrowing Castro." [HUNT *Undercover* p129] PHILLIPS would work with HUNT again: when Fidel Castro came to power, PHILLIPS engaged in various schemes to unseat him, then departed Cuba in late 1960, or early 1961. PHILLIPS served as HUNT'S Propaganda Chief by "directing the CIA's clandestine radio service to Cuba."

**In April 1960 HOWARD HUNT established the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front or Cuban Revolutionary Front or FRD in Mexico City.** The formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Front was announced there on June 22, 1960. HUNT found the Mexican political climate unfavorable for the establishment of a permanent Cuban



government-in-exile. The location of the Cuban Revolutionary Front was changed to the United States. The proclaimed purpose of the Cuban Revolutionary Front was to install a democratic government in Cuba through military force recruited mostly from the Cuban exile community in Miami. The Cuban Revolutionary Front leadership excluded Batista-connected exiles, but the organization of Rolando Masferrer existed on its periphery. FRD members included JUSTO CARRILLO was the former president of the Cuban Industrial

Development Bank. He was considered to be a representative of Carlos Prio Socarras. Although not a Frente member Emilio Nunez Portuondo, a civil servant during the Machado regime in Cuba, who was indicted for stealing public funds, then elected to the Cuban Senate, played a highly influential role. When Carlos Prio Socarras defeated the brother of Emilio Nunez Portuondo for the Cuban Presidency in 1948, Emilio Nunez Portuondo retired and practiced law. His clients included "Lucky" Luciano. In the early 1950's Fulgencio Batista appointed Emilio Nunez Portuondo Ambassador to the United Nations. When Fidel Castro took power, Emilio Nunez Portuondo came to the U.S. and worked with Carlos Prio Socarras. In 1959 the FBI described him as the "most active and best known of the anti-Castro leaders in the U.S." Emilio Nunez Portuondo was offered the post-Castro Presidency of Cuba by General Jose Pedraza, if the invasion of Cuba from the Dominican Republic that Pedraza planned was successful. The FBI reported in May 1959: "Masferrer [told the FBI] he has a liaison with Emilio Nunez Portuondo but is not associated with him or his movement or under his direction. Masferrer has never received any money from him." In January 1960 Alexander Rorke told the FBI that he was a close associate of Emilio Nunez Portuondo. In a July 24, 1961, edition of a newspaper published by the brother of Carlos Prio Socarras, Emilio Nunez Portuondo was named as the future Secretary of State of post-Castro Cuba. Emilio Nunez Portuondo grew embittered with the Kennedy Administration and sent a telegram to President Kennedy in January 1962, a copy of which was obtained by the



CIA. [CIA 201-45667] Emilio Nunez Portuondo came to the attention United States Secret Service Agent Arnesto Aragon on November 17, 1963, when he called America cowardly during a speech to 8,000 Cubans gathered at Bayfront Park. Pedro Diaz Lanz spoke at this rally. On November 24, 1963, Emilio Nunez Portuondo gave Jose Antonio Cabarga, a Batista supporter and the former President of the Cuban Maritime Retirement Fund, a press release that linked Fidel Castro to OSWALD. Jose Antonio Cabarga gave the press release to a Mexico City newspaper.

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM RELEASE AS SANITIZED 1989		CLASSIFIED MESSAGE	RECORDS OFFICER STATE ing action is <b>DE-SENSITIZE</b>
		<b>SECRET</b>	
TO : DIRECTOR	CS COPY.	Signed: <i>C. J. [illegible]</i>	
FROM : MEXICO CITY		R.O. #1 - Unit <b>C/IRYA</b>	
ACTION: C/WH 5 ( <i>[Seal 5]</i> ), WH/3 AND MR. O'NEAL, CI, NOTIFIED AND <i>COPIES SLOTTED AT 25 NOV WB</i>		Notes: If destruction, cite reasons and coordinate if appropriate.	
INFO : DCI, D/DCI, ODP, ADOP, C/CI, C/FI 2, RI/AN DUMMY, C/SR 5, C/SAS 5, D/OS 2, VR			
SECRET 252054Z		25 NOV 63 IN 67718	
IMMEDIATE DIR CITE MEXI 7064			
<del>HYBAT</del>			
1. FOLLOWING RECEIVED 1405 FROM WILLIAM DURKIN NARCOTICS REPRESENTATIVE WHO RECEIVED FROM MEMBER POLICE BANK OF MEXICO, WHICH ONE OF TWO INTERPOL REPS HERE. REPORT DIRECTED TO DIRECCION GENERAL (PRESUMABLY OF BANK).			
A. AT 2030 HRS 24 NOV, DIRECTOR INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE SERVICES CALLED WRITER RE PHONE CALL BETWEEN JOSE ANTONIO CABARCA IN MEXI AND EMILIO NUNEZ PORTUONDO IN MIAMI (PHONE 371-29-41). CABARCA TOLD PORTUONDO THAT WITH ASSASSINATION PRES KENNEDY CASTROS PLAN HAS BEEN REALIZED (YA SE VENIA REALIZANDO EL PLAN CASTRO) AND THAT NEXT ONE TO GO WOULD BE "BOB" AND THAT ANY TIME ATOMIC BOMBS WOULD RAIN DOWN ON U.S. WITHOUT ANYONE KNOWING WHY, THAT IF ALL U.S. UNABLE DEFEND LIFE OF ITS PRESIDENT, WOULD NOT BE ABLE DEFEND SELVES EITHER. REPORT SAID OTHER ITEMS RELATIVE LATIN AMERICA MENTIONED BUT OPERATOR COULD GIVE NO FURTHER INFO.			
B. REPORT CONTINUES CAPT MANUEL LECUONA RAMOS, CHIEF OF OFFICE OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNDER PRIVATE SECRETARY OF			
<i>11/51 in pending FBI</i> D:200-5-41		CS COPY.	
<b>SECRET</b>			
REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED			
		CONDUCTED ON 10/1/82 E/ADMP/CTA BY 23367 FOR FOIA Review on APR 1976 201-289248 200-5-41 25 Nov 63 <i>GJP</i> Copy No.	

PRESIDENT NOTIFIED. ATTEMPT ALSO MADE LOCATE JOSE LUIS BENAVIDEZ,  
 TREASURY REP SAN ANTONIO, BUT COULD ONLY GET CAPT MEADE OF SAN  
 ANTONIO POLICE WHO PROMISED INFORM BENAVIDEZ IN FULL OF ABOVE.

2. BOTH CALLERS WELL KNOWN ANTI CASTROITES. CABARGA NOW UNDER  
 INTERROGATION BY POLICE. ODENVY NOTIFIED HERE AND WILL CONTACT  
 PROCURADURIA DIRECT FOR FURTHER INFO. SINCE FACT CABARGA  
 ARREST APPEARED MORNING PAPERS HERE NO SENSITIVITY PROBLEM  
 INVOLVED. WRITER UNKNOWN. LISTS HIS PHONE NUMBER IN REPORT AS 15-15-21  
 WHICH NOT IN EITHER OF REVERSED DIRECTORIES.

3. INDEX.

On November 24, 1963, narcotics agent William Durkin was told by an INTERPOL member that a Mexico City international telephone operator monitored a call to Emilio Nunez Portuondo in Miami placed by Jose Antonio Cabarga. Emilio Nunez Portuondo told Jose Antonio Cabarga:

...that with the assassination President Kennedy Castro's plan has been realized (Ya se venia realizando el plan Castro) and that the next one to go would be Bob and that any time atomic bombs would rain down on U.S. without anyone knowing why and that if US unable to defend life of President, would not defend selves either. [CIA 93-571]

WAVE traces Nunez reveals the subject 201-312304. ODFOAM advised is probably Jose Antonio Cabarga Sainz, DPOB Circa 1918 Province Las Villas, Cuba. Currently resides Mexico City. He is not occupied with obtaining Mexican visas for persons desiring to leave Cuba. He is pronounced Batistiano and Rightest with ties to Batista groups in U.S. and the Alianza Para El Progress De America.

On November 28, 1963, Jose Antonio Cabarga was arrested in Mexico City, at the request of Legal Attache Clark Anderson. When Jose Antonio Cabarga was released, Anderson interviewed him. The FBI deleted 90% of this document. CARLOS BRINGUIER told the Warren Commission that, as a friend of Emilio Nunez Portuondo, he wished to protest the arrest of Jose Antonio Cabarga. In late November 1963 Portuondo told the FBI he received the phone call. He said although he was bitter at the U.S., the conversation referred to Fidel Castro's plan to kill President Kennedy. Emilio Nunez Portuondo

Specifically denied the exact text as set forth in Rebutel and reiterated that Jose Antonio Cabarga was only expressing his opinion and that of many other anti-Castro Cubans...As nearly as Portuondo can recall, Cabarga did state 'This is the plan of Castro and China.' Portuondo was questioned specifically as to whether Cabarga mentioned Robert Kennedy. Nunez Portuondo denied that mention was made. [FBI 62-109060-309]

Emilio Nunez Portuondo added that Jose Antonio Cabarga had close contacts at the United States Embassy, Mexico City, and was "a good investigator who could develop information in the event plans to assassinate the President were formulated in Mexico City. HEMMING expressed familiarity with Emilio Nunez Portuondo:

HUNT knew him. He was at the Freedom Tower meeting in June 1963. Any loyal gusano with a brain would be coming up with shit like that. You think he's being directed to do it? They are not totally stupid people. They don't have to be told what to do. They know how to come up with their little schemes. They know how to throw the thing into Castro's lap. How many times you think they had to do it before they got an operator that would report it and do her duty? They were doing it on purpose. Any loyal anti-Communist Cuban would be doing it. He didn't know shit. We used to say 'Don't telegraph. Tell a Cuban. It goes faster.' Get off of the bullshit. It was disinformation. I'm not interested in how they fooled fucking WEBERMAN. Damn amateur snookered your ass.

The CIA reported: "This call was heard by lots of people. Files? Perhaps worth mentioning at staff meeting - to show how insecure international phone calls are. Action Copy to PHILLIPS November 25, 1963." John Moss Witten cryptonym John Scelso was asked to investigate this as he was in charge covert operations in Mexico.



**AURELIANO SANCHEZ ARRANGO** was a frente member. The CIA reported: "Arrango was first contracted in September 1948 and used sporadically as a casual informant on Cuban internal politics. a Provisional Operational Approval was granted on August 12, 1959, for use in political action activities. He was debriefed occasionally by the CIA, but after 1960 he was not used operationally." HEMMING told this researcher:

Arrango was Education Minister under Prio. He was Fidel's right hand man until Fidel went to Mexico in 1955. He ran his own anti-Batista group in Cuba. He backed out of the Bay of Pigs plan three months before April 17, 1961. I hooked up with him and started working his operation. He had Bill Harvey supporting him. Harvey and his FBI thugs.

Arrango was considered to be a representative of Carlos Prio Socarras. **TONY VARONA**, the former Foreign Minister of Carlos Prio Socarras, was head of the Cuban Revolutionary Front. Tony Varona came to the United States in June 1960 with the help of CIA Case Officer Gerry Droller. [CIA To File From Alien Affairs Officer 6.6.60] Tony Varona worked closely with HUNT: "HUNT was the one that had to approve any propaganda plans that we were having or also approve the payment of the expenses incurred by such plans. Also, he approved trips of certain individuals around South America to make propaganda efforts...HUNT told me to go to Guatemala." [Varona's HSCA Test.] **MANUEL ARTIME** was the "golden-boy" of the CIA's Cuban





Revolutionary Front. He was the leader of MRR, (Movement Of Revolutionary Recuperation) which began as a support group for the MIRR (Insurreccional Movement Of Revolutionary Recuperation) guerrillas in the Escambray Mountains. Other founders of MRR included Higinio "Nino" Diaz, Michael Yabor and Richardo Lorie. Manuel Artime was born in Cuba, on January 29, 1932. His father was a member of the Spanish Communist Party who became a naturalized Cuban citizen. This led to much speculation whether Manuel Artime was a Castro double-agent. Manuel Artime graduated from the University of Havana in 1949 and attended a Jesuit-run Medical School, but never obtained a medical degree. [CIA FOIA/PA Req. #59,997] In medical school, Manuel Artime ran a Catholic student group which opposed Fulgencio Batista. In late 1958 Manuel Artime went to the Sierra Maestre, where he joined a student guerilla group and fought against Batista's troops in several engagements. From 1958 to 1959, Manuel Artime was a second chief officer in the Cuban revolutionary army. Manuel Artime became a leader of the MRR (Movement of Revolutionary Recuperation). In 1959 Fidel Castro put Manuel Artime in charge of collective farming, but Manuel Artime had an argument with Ché Guevara. On October 29, 1959, Manuel Artime resigned his INRA (Institute of Agrarian Reform) command post, and accused Fidel Castro of planning to communize Cuba. When Fidel Castro ordered Raoul Castro to kill him, Manuel Artime went underground. He was hidden by the Havana CIA Station during a nationwide search. Manuel Artime joined pediatrician Orlando Bosch, [201-299292], and formed MIRR, (Insurreccional Movement of Revolution and Recovery) an anti-Castro group that operated within Cuba. Orlando Bosch had been the former chief of Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement in Las Villas Province, Cuba. Four other former Castro Army officers and 100 deserters left for the Escambray Mountains in August 1960 and formed the nucleus of MIRR. According to STURGIS: "Orlando Bosch was a rebel leader in the Escambray Mountains. He had a group of approximately 1,500 guerrillas there. The CIA was maintaining this guerrilla force up to a point where orders came down that the guerrilla forces and activities had to be stopped. So naturally one of the boys came over with the military commander of this guerrilla force in Cuba, came over to try to make contact in the local area with the CIA or personal contact in order to continue the supply of these forces in the Escambray Mountains." Sometime in 1960 BERNARD BARKER had exfiltrated Manuel Artime from Cuba to Mexico aboard a Honduran ship. In April 1960 Manuel Artime entered the United States from Mexico, where "he was alleged to have the CIA job for recruiting former Batista military men for sabotage activities in Cuba." In April 1960 HUNT recruited him for the Cuban Revolutionary Front. That month, CIA Office of Security Chief Sheffield Edwards requested an FBI records check on Manuel Artime.

## ROBERTO ALEJOS AND THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION

Circa **April 1960** Guatemala President Ydigoras Fuentes gave the CIA permission to operate in his country. The Guatemalan CIA Chief of Station secured the use of a large plantation, owned by Roberto Alejos, that was immediately turned into a training base

for the Cuban Revolutionary Front. [HUNT Day p27, 29] HUNT'S associate in PB SUCCESS, Guatemalan Chief of Station Robert K. Davis, aided HUNT in this effort. Tony Varona reported that "HUNT had him meet with Roberto Alejos in a Miami Hotel for the purpose of obtaining land in Guatemala. Varona believes it was arranged between President Ydigoras and the United States at a higher level than the CIA." On March 27, 1961, the Chief of the CIA's Alien Affairs Staff arranged for Cuban exiles Miro Cardona, Tony Varona and Manuel Artime to be readmitted to the United States along with Guatemalan citizens Roberto Alejos and Carlos Hevia. On **September 13, 1960**, the FBI reported that:

Cuban exiles think the Cuban Revolutionary Front has U.S. support but does not represent the best interests of Cuba. (Deleted) MRR counter-revolutionary organization belonging to the Cuban Revolutionary Front has split in leadership. The Cuban Revolutionary Front backed Manuel Artime as MRR leader. Expelled MRR members, some Authentic Organization members and Pedro Diaz Lanz formed Alliance of Liberation. (Deleted).

#### THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

The FRD was created with Agency assistance, guidance and financial support in May 1960 and consisted of several anti-Castro groups. The FRD was formed as a political action, propaganda and military unit. It not only helped recruit for Brigade 2506 but also carried on a massive program of social assistance for Brigade 2506 members and their families. The FRD headquarters was in Miami but delegates were assigned to New Orleans, Tampa and Mexico City.

In late 1960 or early 1961 the Cuban Revolutionary Council was formed to coordinate and direct Cuban Revolutionary Front activities with Agency and White House support. The Cuban Revolutionary Front continued to function until October 1961 when it was completely absorbed by the Cuban Revolutionary Council. Because of the magnitude of the Cuban Revolutionary Front and Cuban Revolutionary Council operations and Agency participation, a large number of Headquarters and JMWAVE personnel were directly involved with the FRD and CRC personnel. The CRC also had direct access to President Kennedy and White House aides. [CIA Subject FRD 10.30.67]

The Cuban Revolutionary Council was formed because President Kennedy insisted the Agency draft a new Cuban constitution before he gave a tentative go-ahead for the Bay of Pigs invasion. The President demanded that the Cuban Revolutionary Front be expanded to include the democratic socialist elements of the exile community like the group led by Manolo Ray, JURE. The Kennedy Administration wanted every exile group, except Batistianos, included in the Cuban Revolutionary Council. HUNT told the Rockefeller Commission:

When President Kennedy was elected in November 1960, he was briefed on the project and confirmed the plans, including the plan to provide air cover to the invading Cuban force. In early 1961, however, the Kennedy administration decided that the political organization of the Cuban government in exile would have to be broadened so as to include all elements of the Cuban society. Even radical leftwingers were to be included. Hunt was assigned the job of convincing the leaders of the Cuban community to accept such a broadening of the political structure of the government in exile, Hunt found this to be an impossible job to accomplish because the Cubans recruited to make up the invasion force had been promised that the government in exile would be solidly anti-Castro and anti-communist. Hunt asked to be relieved of his assignment because he thought it was an impossible one to achieve and he returned to Washington to work on propaganda and similar non-political aspects of the forthcoming invasion.

HUNT was put under pressure by his superiors to admit Manolo Ray and replace Tony Varona with Miro Cardona Ruben.

#### MIRO CARDONA RUBEN

On March 22, 1961 the FRD joined with the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP) headed by Manuel Ray Rivero, to form the Revolutionary Council. Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, a Cuban attorney and former law professor at the University of Havana, was named President of the Revolutionary Council. Dr. Miro Cardona had served as Prime Minister in the first Cabinet formed by Fidel Castro upon the fall of the Batista Government. He later served as Cuban Ambassador to Spain, and was still later designated Cuban Ambassador to the United States, but resigned to take asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Cuba, before coming to the United States in October 1960, as a political exile. He immediately began to attempt to unify the Cuban exiles into one organization. He encountered considerable opposition and criticism for many Cuban exile leaders, because he was regarded as a "Johnny-come-lately" and because he had signed, as Prime Minister in the Castro Administration certain retroactive laws and other measure which were obnoxious to Cuban exiles. They also claimed that Miro Cardona had never been a political leader in Cuba, had no following either inside or outside of Cuba, and therefore not qualified to become a revolutionary leader. On October 10, 1961 the FRD was officially dissolved and the Cuban Revolutionary Council was created as the coordinating committee of a number of leading anti-Castro groups of Cuban exiles. Dr. Miro Cardona emerged as President of the CRC. [FBI 105-107224-16]

Miro Cardona had been of interest to the CIA since September 19, 1955 "\*\*\*\*Locator Data: Order from IP/CFS - GC52 201-0097050." Traces on Miro Cardona were all



marked "Not Applicable." [Holmes Russell B CI/EXO Index Search and 201 Consolidation Request 9.2.77 IP/FI Control No. 10 Sep 6 77]

## HUNT AGAIN RECOMMENDS CASTRO'S ASSASSINATION

In **July 1960** HUNT met with his former associate, Brigadier General Robert Cushman. When HUNT returned to Washington in the spring of 1950 he had shared an office with Robert Cushman, who later served as Deputy Director/CIA from 1969 to 1972. In July 1960 President Dwight Eisenhower ordered the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles, to brief the opposition candidate, Senator John F. Kennedy, on Cuba. When Allen Dulles reported to the National Security Council that he had done so NIXON "exploded." Under no circumstances, said NIXON, should John Kennedy have had knowledge of the invasion. [DDI Robert Amory as quoted in Wyden *Bay of Pigs* p67]

During the famous NIXON/Kennedy televised debates, the U-2 incident, Quemoy, Matsu and the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz - which NIXON pointed to as a model for dealing with Fidel Castro's Cuba - were all debated. NIXON took a soft line toward Cuba during the debates, and accused John Kennedy of advancing a "shockingly reckless" proposal that could set off World War III. Later, NIXON confessed that he had taken this position because, "the covert operation had to be protected at all costs. I must go to the other extreme: I must attack the Kennedy proposal...as wrong and irresponsible because it would violate our treaty commitments." A few days after the aborted Bay of Pigs invasion, NIXON met privately with the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles. Later, he commented: "I would have invaded Cuba." NIXON expressed his fear that "Kennedy, having been burned in Cuba, will be reluctant to stand up to the Communists in Vietnam."

HUNT supported NIXON in the **November 1960** election, while most Catholic Cuban exiles voted for John F. Kennedy, because of his stronger rhetoric regarding Cuba during the debates. HUNT understood that NIXON, as a planner of the Bay of Pigs, did not want to sound bellicose during the debates: it might have alerted Castro to the intention of the United States to invade Cuba.

HUNT stated,

Many Cuban exiles turned against Kennedy I think that particularly my leadership [member of the FRD and CRC] that have been so avid for Kennedy support in the candidates against NIXON that they became very bitterly hostile to Kennedy because they had placed faith in him and that faith had been abused. Do I think that they could have been [involved in the assassination]. I think you have to put a name of that. I don't know of anybody off hand.

## RICHARD NIXON AND THE BAY OF PIGS

After a meeting with Fidel Castro in 1959, NIXON drafted a memorandum to President Dwight D. Eisenhower that emphasized his belief that Fidel Castro was a particularly dangerous Communist. Indeed, NIXON took credit for having the CIA train Cuban exiles to overthrow Fidel Castro, as he wrote in *My Six Crises*, "The covert training of Cuban exiles by the CIA was due, in substantial part, to my efforts." Former NIXON Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman related that former Costa Rican President Jose Figueres, who was in power when the United States prepared for the Bay of Pigs invasion, stated that the invasion was NIXON'S idea. HUNT wrote that after NIXON became the White House Action Officer of the invasion, "he approved dirty tricks and terror." General Robert Cushman advised HUNT that NIXON, who was the "White House projects action officer," wanted to be sure nothing went wrong. According to HUNT, NIXON was "intimately involved with the operational planning from his National Security Council position...I believe he chaired the National Security Council in that capacity." A CIA analysis of the *Give Us This Day* manuscript revealed: "HUNT describes a luncheon that he and Jake Esterline had with Robert Cushman, Vice President NIXON'S Assistant for National Security Affairs. HUNT had known Robert Cushman when the latter had an earlier CIA tour, and Jake Esterline said that Robert Cushman followed the Cuban Project for the Vice President. HUNT states that NIXON, 'as chairman [sic] of the National Security Council, was the real spark plug behind the project,' and the Administration's focal point and trouble shooter regarding it. The General gave HUNT his private telephone number in the event that he had something for the Vice President's urgent attention." Former Director of the CIA Richard Helms was asked about NIXON'S connection to the Bay of Pigs invasion:

A. I have no idea. I don't think so but I never heard it. I never heard it alleged that he did.

Q. All right. I don't mean that he was actually sitting there doing it, but he had an awareness of it and he was acting in a more than advisory position.

A. But to my personal knowledge I know nothing about this. [Helms Depo. *HUNT V WEBERMAN*]

In late **April 1960** HUNT flew to Madrid to debrief a Cuban Military Attaché, then flew to Cuba. What he saw in Cuba so appalled him that he vowed to "rid Cuba of Castro and his henchmen regardless of personal cost and effort." He wrote that he recommended to the CIA to

Assassinate Castro before of coincident with a Cuban invasion (a job for Cuban patriots). Barnes and Bissell read my report, pondered the recommendations and said that it would weigh in the final planning. (As the months wore on I was to ask Barnes repeatedly about the action on my principal recommendation only to be told it was 'in the hands of a

special group.' So far as I have been able to determine no coherent plan was ever developed within CIA to assassinate Castro, though it was the hearts desire of many exile groups.

On February 6, 1976, Richard Bissell prepared a statement in which he denied having received a written recommendation of this nature:

I do not recall any communication, written or oral, with HUNT regarding assassination. However, I do not dispute Mr. HUNT'S testimony that I received such a communication. In particular, I do not recall telling HUNT or anyone else that planning for the assassination of Castro was 'in the hands of a special group.' I can only speculate that I would have been referring to the operation of Sheffield Edwards and Jim O'Connell to develop a means of assassinating Castro. I do not believe that any such remark would have referred to the Special Group of the National Security Council." [NARA SSCIA 157-10007-10021 prepared by Frederick D. Baron 2.10.76]

HUNT told the SSCIA:

I would like to dilate a bit on that because it never occurred to me that the Agency did not have an assassination capability. This perhaps was as a result of my earlier contact with Colonel Pash or what I heard about him, and that is another reason why I indicated in my written report that this was a job for Cuban patriots. In other words, I was making a clear distinction. I was saying to Mr. Bissell, I don't feel this is something that one of our people ought to do because there are plenty of people who are available on the outside. And then if I can just go off a bit to what happened with that. I asked Mr. Bissell at a later time if any action was being taken on my recommendation, and particularly on my first recommendation, the assassination recommendation. And he told me, he said 'That's in the hands either of a group or the group.' And at this distance in time I simply can't tell what it was he said. But my understanding was at that point contemporaneously that the matter was being looked into and taken care of and indeed, following some of the testimony that I've since read as a result of the Church Committee hearings, it's my understanding that the matter was in hand long before I made my survey trip to Havana. Of course that brings me to the problem now of knowing whether Bissell meant the special group [a subunit of the NSC].

HUNT denied having personally plotted against Fidel Castro during the remainder of his testimony. Andrew St. George wrote:

E. HOWARD HUNT was a FIORINI friend. It was in one of HUNT'S cloak and dagger books, *Bimini Run*, that FRANK found his cover name of

FRANK STURGIS. [St. George quoted STURGIS] "Killing wasn't in Liddy except for talk. HUNT was different, he was a professional. He'd been a clandestine services officer all his life. That's another thing everyone is snickering about - how HOWARD HUNT tried to assassinate Castro, and Castro is still around, bigger than ever. Alright, but hey, listen, HOWARD HUNT was in charge of a couple of other CIA operations that involved 'disposal' and I can tell you some of them worked. [Andrew St. George, *Swank* 8.74]

When the Rockefeller Commission questioned him about this statement STURGIS "denied ever saying this. HUNT was a political officer and wouldn't have had a hand in killings." The CIA reported: "There were indications that Subject attempted to use his personal influence with the President of Uruguay to have his assignment there extended, but he returned to the United States in **June 1960** and was assigned to Mexico City on Project JMARC. In November 1960 Subject was re-assigned to Headquarters." [CIA Evans, Fredrick N. Memo 8.30.71] The CIA reported, "Information contained in HUNT's file indicates possibility that he attempted to cancel his transfer from Uruguay by political maneuvering. The President of Uruguay reportedly indicated his intention, in private conversation with President Eisenhower, to request cancellation of his transfer from Montevideo."

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION  
OOC (CATEGORY OF REPORT)  
FIELD OFFICE (DELETED)  
CASE No. 23500 E. H. H. Jr.  
DATE February 23, 1961  
PERIOD OF INVESTIGATION **September 30, 1960**  
REPORT MADE BY GEORGE P. LOCKER Jr.  
CHARACTER OF CASE E/SB/3



Numerous documents regarding this case have been marked ACCESS RESTRICTED. Another case involved HUNT'S activities on October 3, 1960. It was investigated by John. B. Cryer. Yet another investigation was conducted on August 1, 1960 regarding an incident that took place **July 31 and August 1, 1960**. This one was investigated by Francis R. Favorini, the special agent in charge of the New York office of the Central Intelligence Agency. On March 16, 1963 Favorini signed off on a document that placed

James McCord in the Manhattan Field office. The name Walter P. Tate Jr. also appears on this document. A Walter Franklin Tate served in the CIA for 31 years. (photo right) [<http://www.maryferrell.org/mffweb/archive/viewer/showDoc.do?mode=searchResult&absPagelId=483659>] HUNT spent **July 1960 to October 1960** in Mexico City. On July 5, 1960, Harry W. Little Jr. Chief, Central Cover Division, sent this memorandum to the Chief, Records and Services Division, about HUNT: "Cover arrangements are in process and or have been completed for above-named Subject. Effective immediately, it is requested that your records be properly blocked to deny Subjects (Deleted) to an external inquirer. This memo confirms an oral request of Richard J. Biladeau." HUNT'S

family lived in Washington, D.C., from October 1960 to July 1961. In August 1960 HUNT moved to Miami, where his headquarters was an electronics firm in Coral Gables allegedly involved in government work. HUNT had Geraldine Shamma rent a safehouse on Brickell Avenue in the fall of 1960. On September 27, 1960, approval was given use of a cover name and false identification that included a Washington, D.C. drivers permit. [Memo C/TSD/IB Attention E. J. McGrath, signed by Joseph F. Langan Chief WH/4/SO (?)] On October 3, 1960, HUNT was given a cover name. On October 21, 1960, HUNT was given a mail drop by Victor R. White. His position with the CIA was described as "a point of contact for political action types connected with the Project. Since the first (?) in July 1960 he has been utilized in this same capacity in Mexico City. Documentation being issued consists of a (deleted) and various club and organization and carrying a (deleted) address." The same finance officer who had worked with HUNT on the overthrow of Arbenz gave him \$150,000 in cash for distribution to deserving exile groups. The training of Cuban exiles was progressing well in Guatemala. Hit-and-run strikes against Cuba increased, as did internal sabotage. The CIA stated:

A cable from Montevideo, dated November 6, 1960, indicates that HUNT had written former Uruguayan contacts commenting that he was working on the Cuban problem and publishing an anti-Castro newspaper in Miami. It was recommended that the Subject be warned about such indiscreet remarks, but apparently no action was taken.

Bruce Solie of CIA Office of Security Research Staff had his Deputy investigate HUNT: "Attached is a copy of a cable which was brought to my attention by Mr. O'Neal, CI/SIG. Mr. Horton had requested that Mr. O'Neal check concerning any information developed by OS. [CIA Solie Memo 1.24.61]

The Coast Guard began interfering with exile operations against Cuba in late 1960. [HUNT Day p70] CIA supply missions to Manuel Artime and the Cuban guerrilla counterparts of the Cuban Revolutionary Front were halted. HUNT commented, "It's as though Castro was a friend." In November 1960 John F. Kennedy was elected President. The Cuban exile community was jubilant - until recruitment for the Guatemalan training base was suddenly stopped, paralyzing project activity.

**Gerry Droller (aka Frank Bender)**, a former OSS man who had been a resistance organizer behind Nazi lines, and had worked with HUNT on the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz, told HUNT not to worry: "After NIXON and Allen Dulles have briefed Kennedy it will be full speed ahead: Kennedy campaigned on a promise to back them." Gerry Droller interviewed Fidel Castro on behalf of the CIA. Fidel Castro persuaded Gerry Droller that he was a nationalist and an anti-communist. [HUNT Day p75; Hinckle & Turner *Deadly Secrets* p30] On **December 20, 1960**, in reference to HUNT, "An (deleted) for (Deleted) obtained in Washington, D.C." On September 30, 1960 a '(deleted) Washington, D.C. The primary purpose of the (deleted) was to (deleted). The owner of the premises referred to is a matter of previous record. File #23, 500."

Some idea of HUNT and Gerry Droller's operations in 1960 was provided by **Mrs. Clark Valentiner**, who rented a room next to one that was chosen by Gerry Droller for meeting between himself, Manuel Artime, Nino Diaz, Ricardo Lorie, William Kent, Manuel Goudie, Bernard Reichhardt, Sanchez Arrango and Michael Yebor. Four of the men were members of the Cuban Revolutionary Front. Bender started out by saying how disturbed he was over the split in the MRR and how unhappy he was with it. "An additional point, sometime in the conversation, Bender raised the point that the Frente was stalling on him; for instance in its dragging its feet on the move to Mexico which had been recently brought to their attention again by his and Bender's associate, HUNT..." Richardo Lorie was mentioned by HUNT in *Give Us This Day*. He was described as a Castro partisan who defected early.

FBI Special Agent Davis indicated that at 3:00 p.m. on July 19, 1960, a call was received from Mrs. Clark Valentiner, wife of executive of the Continental Can Company, Havana, Cuba, who reported that she had overheard a discussion of an anti-Castro group...Mrs. Valentiner had noticed the license plates of the participants at the meeting conducted in Room 209 at the University Court Resort Hotel. S.A. Davis was to contact Mr. Valentiner for the purpose of determining what she overheard, to tell her to refrain from discussing this matter further with anyone, and also to caution her friends whom she had told of the incident to do likewise. S.A. Davis mentioned that Mrs. Valentiner had returned to her room, 210, at the University Court Motel at 11:30 a.m. and noticed billows of smoke emanating from a crack under her kitchen door. Upon examining the situation, she overheard loud conversing in the connecting room. In listening further Mrs. Valentiner was able to record the conversation in Room 209 by taking copious notes. Mrs. Valentiner believed there were three Cubans present together with two other individuals whose nationality she could not determine but whose names she established to be Frank Bender and (Deleted). One of the Cubans served as an interpreter and Bender spoke with a distinct Germanic accent. Mrs. Clark Valentiner told Davis that Mr. Bender stated during the meeting he was 'hired by the United States to do away with Castro..' Mrs. Clark Valentiner also noted during the meeting references to HOWARD and HUNT, which she surmised to be one HOWARD HUNT. S.A. Davis indicated that he interviewed Mrs. Valentiner in her quarters in the motel on July 20, 1960. The writer, at this point, inquired as to the size of the crack underneath Mrs. Valentiner's kitchen door. Davis answered by stating that it was large (exact dimensions not noted). He further declared that she had mentioned to him that she was able to observe the portion of the leg (to the knee) of many of the individuals participating in the discussion. The writer further queried Davis as to whether she had any knowledge of Spanish. Davis replied that she possesses fluent knowledge of Spanish after having resided in Cuba for ten years. Her husband has lived in Cuba for 30 years. While at the motel Davis observed that she had notes of the conversation which she referred to during the interview. It should be noted that these



notes were not confiscated by Davis. Mrs. Valentiner, according to Davis, did a little investigating on her own. After the meeting of the group was over, Frank Bender called National Airlines to confirm his reservations for July 19, 1960. Mrs. Valentiner called National Airlines and determined that Bender was destined for Washington, D.C."

Sheffield Edwards conducted an investigation which concluded: "Consideration should be given how these notes should be recovered or destroyed." [CIA EX/ #1 7.20.60 MASH 0257, Ex.3 7.22.60; CIA Syn. File # 219000 8.2.60; NARA ID # 1993.07.26. 09:34:04:060410; CIA Memo for Rec 7,25,60 RJO/pr; CIA Memo for C/WH/4 7.22.60 Droller C/WH/4/PA; CIA #219000 8.2.60] On **January 12, 1961**, the FBI received an Airtel from the SAC of the San Juan, Puerto Rico, FBI Office, which concerned the Cuban Revolutionary Front:

The letterhead memorandum was classified as Secret as the unauthorized disclosure could result in serious damage to the U.S. such as jeopardizing international relations and endangering the effectiveness of a program of vital importance to our national defense.

Local dissemination was not made in accordance with Bureau instructions. Source utilized was Juan Aguilar, a Cuban exile residing in Puerto Rico who was formerly Industrial Relations Attorney for the Texas Co. in Cuba and who is now affiliated with MANUEL Inc. a San Juan insurance firm. He requested that his identity be concealed. No comment was made to him by S.A. Robert A. Berminham the interviewing agent, concerning the possibility that CIA was backing the FRD or was preparing an invasion force." [FBI 105-87912-143 1.12.61]

TO: Chief, Security Research Staff, OS **January 24, 1961**  
FROM: Chief/RB/SRS/OS  
SUBJECT: HUNT #23500

Attached is a copy of a cable which was brought to my attention by Mr. O'Neal, CI/SIG. Mr. Horton had requested that Mr. O'Neal check any information developed by the Office of Security. The attached cable indicates that Subject is furnishing information of a type which he should not be furnishing, to certain (Deleted as of 2010) whom he presumably knew during previous assignment in (Deleted as of 2010). The cable also appears to raise the question concerning how Subject could recently purchase a \$70,000 home in Washington, D.C. A check of Subject file indicates that Subject has some outside income since he has written a number of pocket books and he has certain corporation stocks. The following security action is recommended:

(a) Credit checks be conducted on Subject in Washington, D.C. area and information obtained in regard to his home including financial arrangements.

(b) Appropriate officials of JMARC briefed concerning the information regarding (deleted as of 2010) and a discreet inquiry made concerning whether Subject is making any other indiscreet remarks and statements concerning his current assignment.

Subject has been a problem in the past and apparently continues to be a problem. If information can be obtained other than the cable information which apparently could not be used, it is felt that Subject should be given at least a strong warning concerning indiscreet remarks and unauthorized disclosure of information.

Bruce Solie

On **February 21, 1961**, a Office Memo was sent to Chief SB/3 from OL Subject 23500 (HUNT). This date (deleted) WH/4/SO advised we can cancel NC." On February 23, 1961, "(Deleted) Subject's application (deleted) canceled. On February 21, 1961 the (deleted) previously established in the name of (deleted) Washington, D.C. was canceled. This (deleted) was set up September 30, 1960 for the purpose of (deleted) the Subject in the (deleted) File No. 23500."

#### HUNT, PHILLIPS AND BAY OF PIGS: APRIL 1961

In April **1961 HUNT said he resigned from the Cuban Revolutionary Council** in protest over the inclusion of Manolo Ray:

Q. When did you resign as liaison officer?

A. It was on or about the -- well, I'd say the April 10, 1961.

Q. Could you give the reason for your resignation?

A. Well, I was asked to do certain things which I declined to do and I asked to be relieved.

Q. Did that included the joining of Manolo Reyes to the Council?

A. Yes.

Q. And this was against your principles?

A. It was against the principles the United States had held up to the exiles, yes.

Q. Your instructions were to include Manolo Reyes in the Cuban Revolutionary Council at the insistence of President Kennedy?

A. I don't know.

Q. But your direct instructions came from the person?

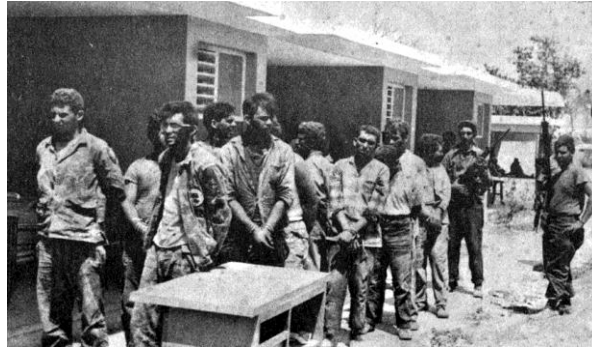
A. That's correct.

However, on March 18, 1961, HUNT agreed to work under the cover of propagandist for the Cuban Revolutionary Council and for the Bay of Pigs invasion, which was imminent. [HUNT *Day* pp. 140, 142, 153, 175] The CIA reported: "The Cuban Revolutionary Council had direct access to President Kennedy and top White House aides."

During his deposition in *HUNT v. WEBERMAN*, BARKER described HUNT as "air commander or chief of CIA" during the Bay of Pigs. While reporting on one of HUNT'S Watergate hearings, *The N.Y. Times* described HUNT as having "operational charge of the Bay of Pigs." William Buckley indicated "HOWARD HUNT was intimately involved as an official in the CIA, in the Bay of Pigs. Indeed, *The New York Times* named him as the principal CIA official directly involved in that venture." [Buckley *Firing Line* 1.18.73]

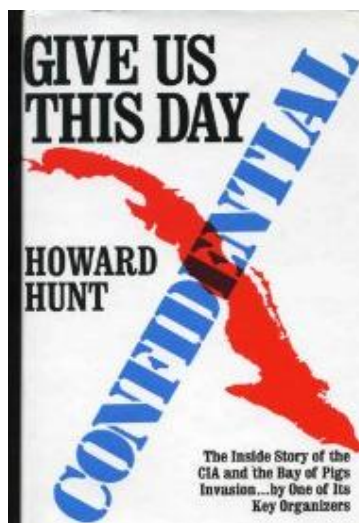
Thomas McCann, a former public relations man for United Fruit, stated: "In the early days of the Kennedy Administration, the CIA approached the management of the United Fruit Company and told them that the United States was sponsoring a counter-revolutionary movement with the objective of unseating Fidel Castro. The project was masterminded by an old hand at such things, E. HOWARD HUNT. The CIA wanted us to supply two of our freighters to convey men, munitions and materiel during the invasion." [McCann *United Fruit* p93] In March 1961 President Kennedy changed the site of the Cuban invasion from a beach near a city, to Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs), a desolate area surrounded by swamps. HUNT regarded this decision as "the ultimate in folly." He informed BARKER that, as a result of his interaction with the Kennedy Administration, he had decided it was becoming "increasingly hard to identify the enemy." HUNT was no longer sure if he should try to kill Fidel Castro, or John Kennedy. The scenario of the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion called for the murder of Fidel Castro. It was reported by some sources that Fidel Castro did ingest some poison just before the invasion, although these reports have never been confirmed. In any event, Fidel Castro did not die.

## KENNEDY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE OF THE INVASION



In an article in *Fortune Magazine*, Charles J.V. Murphy, Frank Wisner's close friend, pointed out that the CIA was not to blame for the Bay of Pigs, because it had pleaded with President Kennedy for the air strike. President Kennedy wondered if Charles J.V. Murphy's information came from the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles. Allen Dulles asked HUNT to conduct an investigation that would clear him. HUNT allegedly trailed the leak back to an unnamed official in the Kennedy Administration who had supported the invasion. Despite HUNT'S investigation, President Kennedy believed that Allen Dulles was behind the leak. HUNT and PHILLIPS blamed the Kennedy Administration. HUNT believed "the second air strike was basic to the success of the invasion. The fact that it was not honored resulted in the defeat of the Brigade." HUNT held President Kennedy responsible.

## THE BAY OF PIGS MANUSCRIPT- *GIVE US THIS DAY*



HUNT felt so adamantly about the Bay of Pigs he was willing to put his career in the CIA on the line by circulating a manuscript about the bungled invasion. In his analysis of

*Give Us This Day*, Walter Pforzhiemer, the Curator of the Historical Intelligence Collection of the CIA, noted:

The manuscript has evidently been kicking around in publishing circles since at least mid-1968, presumably without CIA clearance. William Buckley of the *National Review* seems to have been shopping it at one point. One publisher rejected it as too controversial and noted its confidential nature as well as its potential for libel suits.

2. In the foreword to this manuscript, the author, (whom I shall refer to under the assumed name of Hamilton describes the book as a “personal account” of CIA’s role in the Bay of Pigs affair in which he was a senior CIA participant for 19 months. He notes in the foreword his hope that someone would have written this book so that he would not have to do it. Now convinced that, if does not write it, it will never be written, he had taken up his pen “reluctantly and in a mood of nostalgic bitterness.” Hamilton states he has used no official files or documents and has consulted no one in preparing this work. Where true names are used in the manuscript for CIA personnel, he writes they have been publicly identified before, and in this contention I believe he is correct, with the possible exception of (deleted as of 2010). The author’s claim that this book would provide information not known to Castro’s intelligence services or that details his late are of no value to the opposition, is, in my view, seriously open to question.

3. The book is, in general, favorable to the CIA actions in the Bay of Pigs. The villains of the piece are certain liberal figures in the Kennedy Administration (Schlesinger, Goodwin, Stevenson) and to some extent, the President himself. In his concluding chapter, the author’s bitterness is undisguised against those in the Administration and the press who took the opportunity of the Bay of Pigs incident to attack and denigrate the CIA.

Bissell and Barnes and the author’s other CIA co-workers in the Cuban Project, by and large, are given quite favorable treatment. One exception is General Cabell, whom the author excoriates, and it is apparent that Hamilton’s opinion of Jerry Droller is far from favorable both on political and professional grounds.

5. It is apparent that HAMILTON [HUNT] feels very deeply about the Bay of Pigs and its aftermath, to the extent that he is willing to put his career on the line by circulating this manuscript to several publishers without apparent clearance or authorization. He has utilized his nom de plume the same name assigned to him in the project for dealing with the Cuban Front and it would not take anyone who was involved in the Cuban Project more than a few pages of reading to identify the author, as one potential publisher pointed out. The manuscript itself is the most comprehensive

story of a CIA operation that has ever been written for publication...The author's claim that his book would provide no information not known to Castro's intelligence service or that details this late are of no value to the opposition, is, in my view, seriously open to question. [CIA EYES ONLY 2.16.70]

The CIA:

In January 1967 (Deleted) prepared a memorandum concerning Arlington House Publishers which, based on hearsay, indicated that a fight was going on for control of the company. One rumor was that CIA wanted to take over control. Apparently this memo was again brought to the attention of C/SRS in April 1970 with the comment by (Deleted) 'In going through some of (Deleted's) old reports, I found this. Possibly of interest in view of HUNT'S manuscript.' The buck slip was marked 'Noted PFG.' In June 1970 when I was assigned to the (Deleted)/SRS, there was a copy of HUNT'S manuscript on the Bay of Pigs being retained in a safe in the C/(Deleted) office. Some time later I learned that (Deleted) had apparently obtained it through a contact and had forwarded it to this office as an item of probable interest. The Agency was able to ascertain the identity of the author, who turned out to be HOWARD HUNT. HUNT was, I believe, at that time, employed by the Agency with DOD. In any case he was approached under some guise and was convinced that it would be inappropriate for him to have the book published at that time.

On February 17, 1970 this Transmittal Slip was generated: "Mr. Gaynor discussed his meeting with T. K. and SAC. JIM McCORD to meet Wiley today and will find out more details of how Wiley and the Ms. came together. Sam Walker also in picture. Hold per PG for further word before other action." On January 14, 1975, Raymond Rocca had HUNT make numerous deletions in HUNT'S autobiography, *Undercover. Give Us This Day*, written in 1968, contained this passage:

No event since the communization of China in 1949 has had such a profound effect on the United States and their allies as the defeat of the United States trained Cuban invasion brigade at the Bay of Pigs in April, 1961. Out of that humiliation grew the Berlin Wall, the missile crisis, guerilla warfare throughout Latin America and Africa, and our intervention in the Dominican Republic. Fidel Castro's beachhead triumph opened a bottomless Pandora's box of difficulties that affected not only the United States, but most of its Free World allies. These bloody and subversive events would not have taken place had Castro been toppled. Instead of standing firm, our government pyramided crucially wrong decisions and allowed Brigade 2506 to be destroyed...Let this not be forgotten...LEE HARVEY OSWALD was a partisan of Fidel Castro, and an admitted Marxist who made desperate efforts to join the Red Revolution in Havana. In the end, he was an activist for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. But for



Castro and the Bay of Pigs disaster there would have been no such 'committee.' And perhaps no assassin named LEE HARVEY OSWALD.

Several years after he wrote this paragraph, questioned under oath about his knowledge of OSWALD'S connection to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, HUNT stated: "If you say [he had a connection]. I have no idea." HUNT wrote: "But for Castro and the Bay of Pigs disaster there would have been no such 'committee.' And perhaps no assassin named LEE HARVEY OSWALD." Was he referring to the CIA rogue "committee," whose goal it was to kill President Kennedy that had invented OSWALD? HUNT stated: "I felt Mr. Kennedy was weak when he should have been strong. I felt that he was over-influenced by his senior advisors. I felt that he had not demonstrated the qualities of statesmanship that most of us had come to expect of the Chief Executive." HEMMING distorted events surrounding the Bay of Pigs so it would look like there was not motive to kill Kennedy:

Cabell lied and he never spoke to the President. The air strike was canceled on his word. It was Cabell's fault, not Kennedy's. Who the fuck was he doing this for? That's what ANGLETON asked. He was pissed with Cabell. Was this a ploy to have these guys stuck on the beach? Kennedy was already talking détente with Castro. Get off the Russian tit. Make arrangements for promissory notes and bonds for the confiscated property.

Other evidence suggested that President Kennedy deliberately betrayed his own paramilitary force and was guilty of treason. Newsman Bill Moyers reported that John F. Kennedy advisor Arthur Schlesinger told him: "President Kennedy was troubled by the plan and made this comment just before authorizing the Bay of Pigs invasion, 'If we have to get rid of these men it is much better to **dump them in Cuba** than in the United States, especially if that is where they wish to go.'"

On **October 12, 1961**, Bruce Solie, C/RB/SRS wrote: "Attached is a copy of a memorandum dated September 29, 1961, concerning a request for permission for the Subject to reestablish contact with (deleted). Mr. O'Neal, CI/SIG, brought the attached to the attention of the undersigned and the contact has been approved by Mr. Helms...Although the above contact of the Subject with (Deleted) is (Deleted) EAB was advised of the above by the undersigned and the above is being made a matter of record in Subject file." In November 1961 HUNT was reassigned to the DDP/ Covert Action Staff and in January 1962 to the Office of the Chief of the same Staff. In July 1962 HUNT was transferred to the DODS Research and Publications Section in Washington. Another CIA document states on May 29, 1962, HUNT was reassigned within the Domestic Operations Division effective July 1, 1962. In July 1962 Subject was transferred to the Research and Publications Section, Facilities Branch, Domestic Operations Division, Deputy Director/Plans, Washington, where he worked as an Operations Officer under Tracy Barnes. On July 31, 1964, he joined the Domestic Operations Division Covert Action Staff and worked under Cord Meyer.

The Rockefeller Commission reported HUNT joined the Covert Action Staff of the Domestic Operations Division in August 1961, and worked out of Field Office, Domestic Operations Division/Deputy Director /Plans, as Chief Operations Officer. HUNT'S office building was located one block from the White House (1750 Pennsylvania Avenue). The rear flyleaf of OSWALD'S address book contained the markings "815 Penn." Radiology Associates of Tarrant County was located at 815 Pennsylvania Ave, Fort Worth, TX.

## **LATE 1962**

On August 29, 1962, HUNT filed out a Request for Cover (Deleted)

Inclusion of SAC on the Domestic Cover List is requested for the reason noted below. When notified that cover has been established, SAC will be specifically authorized and instructed to (Deleted). Subject is currently included on the (Deleted). For the reason noted below, it requested that this employee be removed from the (Deleted) Type Suggested (Specify (deleted) Justification if (deleted) Suggested. Approved by Central Cover Division Requesting Official, (Deleted) Chief, Security, DODS.

On September 21, 1962, an answer to his request was generated:

Notification of Establishment of Cover. To Chief Operating Component Attention Miss Lynch. Submit Form 313-A to change limitation to category 3, submit form (deleted) for any change (Deleted), submit (deleted) form for transferring (deleted). Signed James W. Franklin, Chief Central Cover Division

On October 29 1962, HUNT filled out a SUPPLEMENTAL PERSONAL HISTORY STATEMENT for the CIA. HUNT's present supervisor was Stanley H. Gaines, C/DODS/OPS. "Additional Remarks: Between July 1960 and March 1961 I was with Project JMATE, assigned to Mexico City and Coral Gables, Florida, where I was known under the operational alias of Edward J. Hamilton." On November 14, 1962, the CIA generated a document about HUNT'S wife's possible employment that was addressed to the Chief, Personnel Security Division, OS, through the Chief, Employee Activity Branch/PSD/OS. Reference was made to a memo from HUNT dated November 7, 1962.

1. Subject, Chief, R & P/DODS/DD/P who has [32] cover, indicates that his wife, Mrs. Dorothy L. Hunt has been employed by Communications Consultants International (OS-NR) which firm does public relations work for the Spanish Embassy. The firms contract is to be cancelled soon and acquaintances at the Spanish Embassy have suggested to Mrs. Hunt that she help them on a part time basis doing translations, statistical research and occasional letters for the Ambassador. Subject indicates also that most of this work would be done at home and that with Agency concurrence his wife had worked for the Spanish Embassy during 1955 to

1956. Subject requests security approval for his wife to accept employment with the Spanish Embassy. There is no indication that the request has been coordinated with the Chief, DODS.

2. (Deleted) Central Cover Group, advised that there were no cover objections to the proposed action.

3. Memorandum dated January 24, 1957, to DC/PSD from Bruce Solie in Subject's file indicates that the employment of Mrs. Hunt by the Spanish Embassy has been approved by the security officer in (Deleted). Subject's file indicated he has been a continuing security problem because of a tendency to disregard regulations and established procedures. OS file #35576 on Subject's wife indicates she (Deleted).

4. The proposed employment of Subject's wife by the Spanish Embassy appears incompatible with Subject's employment by CIA. In addition, although Mr. HUNT has official cover his Agency employment could be ascertained with resultant embarrassment to the Subject, the Agency or the nation. Accordingly, it is recommended that Subject's request be security disapproved. H. R. Dugan Appraisal Section.

#### THE DOMESTIC OPERATIONS DIVISION

According to HUNT, the Domestic Operations Division was formed

...after considerable bureaucratic struggle by Tracy Barnes the new division accepted both personnel and projects unwanted elsewhere in the CIA...Many men connected with the Bay of Pigs failure were shunted into the new domestic unit.

The charter of the Domestic Operations Division outlined its mission:

To exercise central responsibility for the direction, support and coordination of clandestine operational activities of the Clandestine Services conducted within the United States against foreign targets in response to established operational requirements. Nothing in this instruction shall be construed to vest in DODS responsibility for the conduct of clandestine internal security or counter-intelligence operations in United States, former IO activities now assigned to Covert Action Staff or other categories of special activities designated by the Deputy Director of Plans from time to time. Organization: although DODS combines the aspects of both a division and a station, primary emphasis is placed on its station functions and the essential relationship of DODS to divisions and staffs parallels that of a foreign field station. The future establishment of subordinate domestic bases is envisioned. Functions: (Deleted). [NARA HSCA 180-10095-10058]

Tracy Barnes left the CIA in December 1966, and joined the faculty of Yale University. He died of a heart attack on February 20, 1972, at age 60, in his Rhode Island home. ANGLETON told Seymour Hersh that much more spying and other illegal activities were conducted by the Domestic Operations Division than by Counter-Intelligence. The charter of the Domestic Operations Division forbade it from conducting, "other categories of special activities designated by the Deputy Director of Plans from time to time." The words, from time to time, appear in the Charter of the CIA: "(5) To perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct." These words have often been interpreted as giving the National Security Council permission to commit a political assassination when the President felt it necessary. What "other functions affecting the national security" may be required by the President on an occasional basis? The assassination of a hostile national leader? After World War II, many people were asking themselves: "How many lives could have been saved if Adolf Hitler had been assassinated?"

HUNT said his work for the Domestic Operations Division involved **subsidizing Frederick Praeger** which he termed a CIA propaganda operation in that Praeger produced books at the request of the CIA. HUNT stated that Fodor Travel Guide Publishers was a CIA front the purpose of which was to provide cover for agents overseas. HUNT told *The New York Times* on December 31, 1974: "My staff ran a media operation known as Continental Press out of the National Press Building in Washington, D.C." On February 24, 1967, Frederick Praeger was quoted in *The New York Times* as having stated the he had published 15 or 16 books at the CIA's request. When this was publicized Henry L. Bretton, a Professor of Political Science, and author of the book *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah*, published by Frederick Praeger Publishing, complained to his Congressman and to the CIA.

HUNT told the Rockefeller Commission: "January 1962 assigned to the DOD of DDP, handling proprietaries based in the U.S. (impact of which is abroad.) Immediate superior was Stanley Gaines was either Chief of Operations or Executive Officer of DOD and Tracy Barnes was Division Chief of DOD. (Barnes is cousin by marriage to Vice President Rockefeller). The proprietaries which Hunt was engaged in managing were the Continental News service which prepared news and radio broadcasts for foreign (Deleted) a cover operation and Fodor's Travel Guides a proprietary HUNT questioned whether it had any use. Fodor's had been set up in 1946 as cover operation but served no apparent use during the years HUNT was with DOD. Headquarters was at 1717 H Street N.W. and then later on Pennsylvania Avenue. This assignment lasted until spring 1965." [Olsen's Handwritten notes] The CIA: "**As of November 1963**, HUNT was assigned to (deleted) however, apparently Mr. HUNT had some collateral duties with Deputy Director Plans/Domestic Operations Division/Facilities Branch. Mr. HUNT was assigned to such tasks from November 1961 to February 1965." [HUNT as leader of Cov. Ops. of DOD: Complaint *HUNT v. WEBERMAN* USDC/SD Fla. Miami 76-1252-Civ-PF filed 7.28.76 para. 4B]